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## George Henry Corliss, Engineer and Business Man

THE full development of an art has always required two types of invention. No new thing under the sun ever came full fledged into being, and the pioneers in every art have necessarily left their inventions in sketchy form, the detailed arrangements which made them really practical being filled in by later comers.

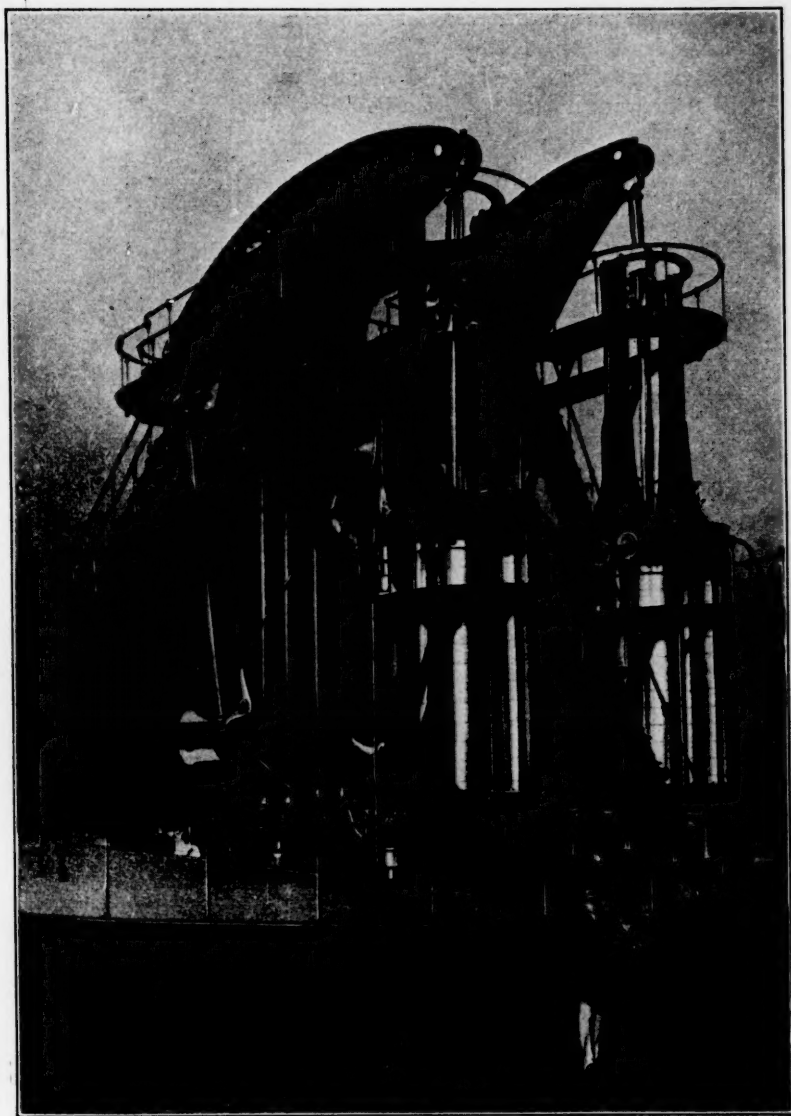
A package of letters patent, correspondence, etc., coming from Providence, Rhode Island, shed some personal sidelights on the history of a man, Mr. George Henry Corliss, who made a most important contribution of the second type to the development of the steam engine. The first steam engine that ran, like most new inventions, was an inefficient affair. A walking-beam, arranged like a teeter-board, supported at one end a pump-rod, which hung down the mine shaft, and at the other, the moving piston of the engine which hung down its closely fitting upright cylinder. The weight of the pump-rod was greater than that of the piston and its rod. It therefore pulled the piston to the top of the cylinder, drawing in after it a cylinderful of steam of only atmospheric or "tea-kettle" pressure. To pull the pump-rod up again, this steam was condensed by spraying water into the cylinder. A vacuum, more or less complete, was thus created under the piston, whereupon the pressure of the atmosphere on its top pushed it down. This worked well if one did not care how much steam was used or coal burned, but its extravagance was appalling.

The main source of loss in this form of engine was corrected by Watt. This was in the heavy cylinder condensation. It was caused by the cooling of the walls of the cylinder by the water sprayed in to condense the steam, so that much of the incoming steam made no effective contribution toward filling the cylinder on the upward stroke. He partly solved the problem by returning the steam to water in a separate condenser, a procedure still followed. He also eliminated a lesser source of loss due to the fact that the steam had to come in hot through the same valve passage through which it went out much cooler to be condensed, and there was a good deal of condensation and reëvaporation in this passage at each stroke. Other early engines, however, did not have separate passages for the hot and cold steam. Even without this feature, however, the new type was a vast improvement over its predecessor.

Another minor loss, though still an important one, was due to the cylinder's being filled quite full of the incoming steam, instead of only partly filled, so that the lesser charge could expand or attenuate with the further travel of the piston. Some pressure, preferably a considerable amount, would have lifted, or helped to lift the piston, doing away with the heavy overbalancing of the pump-rod, or perhaps with any overbalancing of it at all.

As the art developed, it became clear that good steam economy demanded high pressure, sharp fractional cut-off of the incoming steam at such part of the stroke as the load required, and separate incoming and outgoing valve passages, so that the hot incoming steam should not have to re-traverse the passage just occupied by the cool outgoing exhaust. Mr. Corliss was the first to design, develop and build on a commercial scale, an engine that met all these requirements, capable of high economy and of rotational speed that suited it to the needs of mill and factory drive. His inventions mark a turning point in the efficient development of steam power. Their working out showed, in a minor sense, the same sort of mechanical insight that made Watt able to carry out his own behests, in combination with a business ability which enabled him to reap the material reward of his genius.

Corliss began his education in Greenwich, New York, where his father, a doctor, moved when George was eight years old. After leaving school and working for several years as a clerk in a country store, he entered Castleton Academy in Vermont, where he spent three years. One of his letters, in which he writes his father his first impression of the academy, is interesting from the glimpse it



GEORGE HENRY CORLISS' 1400 HORSE-POWER ENGINE, WHICH MOVED  
ALL THE MACHINERY FOR THE CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION  
AT PHILADELPHIA IN 1876.

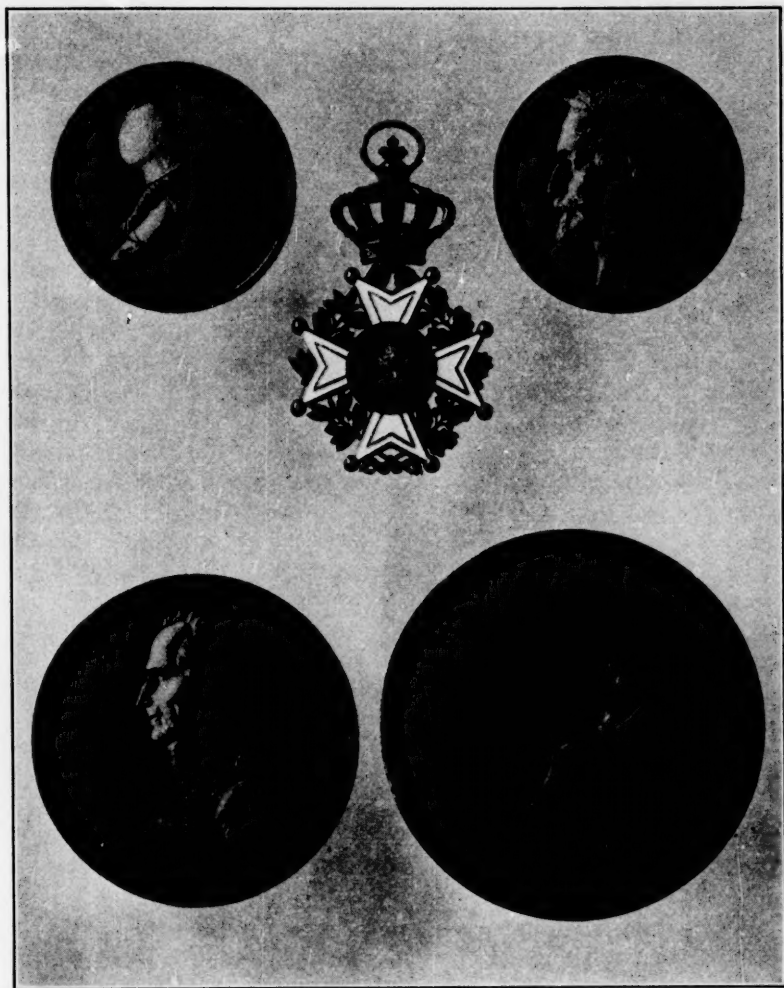
gives us of young Corliss, earnest in his opinions, alternately pedantic and picturesque in his description of his new surroundings.

"It is truly an inestimable privilege," he writes, "to have a Father before whom we can lay our concerns and ask advice. . . . I will endeavour to lay my case before you in such a way as that you may understand it. I would willingly sit up nights and saw ten cords of wood if I could be home tomorrow noon and get out of this scrape honorably. . . . I can assure you I would sell my right and title to the privileges of Castleton Seminary pretty cheap. . . . I was obliged to wait seven hours in Salem for the stage the greatest part of which time I spent in the bar room disgusted at seeing men and boys step up to the bar and take their cigars wine beer and cider and once in a while called for something a little stronger as they called it. . . . I arrived here about eight in the evening. . . . I was led into a room that looked more like some shoemakers shops I have seen than anything else I can think of, the wall was almost black with smoke the plaster torn off in more than forty different places. It was marked up all over with white red & black chalk and ink, the stove and pipe looked as if it had been used in a grog shop ever since the Revolutionary war. . . . There was chips and dirt enough on the floor to raise a hill of Potatoes, perhaps not a very large hill but it would raise enough potatoes for one dinner if you did not happen to be very hungry."

After he left Castleton, he opened a country store at Greenwich, where he first demonstrated mechanical ability in temporarily rebuilding a bridge that had been washed away by a freshet, after such a structure had been pronounced impracticable by the wise heads of the town, who had resigned themselves to the inconvenience of a ferry until a permanent bridge could be built. The list of subscriptions for the bridge, with the names of the subscribers and the amounts, ranging from twenty-five cents to five dollars, and aggregating \$52.00, is among the papers.

His first invention was a machine for stitching leather, before the date of the original Howe sewing machine. This, like a number of other devices before Howe's, does not seem to have come to anything, commercially. It led, however, to his going to Providence for the purpose of interesting capitalists in the machine. While he was there, he took employment as a draftsman with a steam engine company. The letter of Edward Bancroft, of Providence, to Corliss, offering him a position, is interesting in the light of Corliss' later career.





SOME OF THE MEDALS WON BY THE CORLISS ENGINE. THEY ARE TWO FROM PARIS, THE BELGIAN "ORDER OF LEOPOLD," ONE OF THE RUMFORD MEDALS, AND ONE FROM THE CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION AT PHILADELPHIA.

"If there still remains a difficulty about some of its operations," writes Bancroft in regard to the sewing machine, "I have no fear myself but time will develope some way to overcome them — . . . I think you have no reason to despair — as yet — I would advise you however to suspend your operations with the machine a while and employ yourself about something else — it will give your mind new vigor and your ideas will have freer scope — and you will in some measure be able to dispell the shadows that an 'empty Purse' is casting round you — you ask me what kind of business you had best go at — now this is a question I am unable to answer — but I will say this that I should have no fear of your succeeding in a business connected with 'Steam Engines & other Machinery.' You would find some trouble at first no doubt in mastering the thousand and one different ways of coming at the same thing — but for a person who sees the 'why' of a thing as readily as you do the trouble would soon change to a pleasure provided as you say there was something coming in for it — We have been in want some time of a competent person to execute our various drawings — and since the receipt of your letter . . . we have concluded to invite you to come to Providence and attach yourself to our concern in the capacity of Draftsman and in any other way that you can make yourself valuable."

In Providence he made improvements in the steam engine, culminating in his invention described above. In 1856 his own company was incorporated. Unlike so many inventors, he enjoyed the fruits of his labors, both financially, and in the fame which his invention brought him during his lifetime. For this he received awards in Paris and Vienna, the Montyon Prize being the highest honor which the Old World could confer for a mechanical achievement. The King of Belgium made him an "Officer of the Order of Leopold," and he was presented with the Rumford Medals by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1870.

Another work of his, spectacular but less fundamental, was the construction of the great engine which furnished the power for all the machinery at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876. As a member of the United States Centennial Commission, he submitted plans for a single engine of 1,400 horse power to move all the machinery in the exhibition. Engineers were pessimistic about such a project, predicting that the machine would be noisy and troublesome, but it worked perfectly. Corliss spent \$100,000 on it above the appropriation, and infinite care and time. Some of

the praises bestowed on the engine show that he was justified by the results. Mr. Bartholdi, in a report to the French Government, said enthusiastically that it belonged to the category of works of art, from its general beauty of effect, and its perfect balance to the eye; while Professor Redinger, of the Polytechnic School of Vienna, pronounced it "systematic in greatness, beautiful in form, and in every detail a masterpiece."

The Corliss collection contains his medals, and a copy of the Diploma of Honor he won at Vienna, in addition to the patents and correspondence. Much of the latter is concerned with the awarding of the Rumford Medals. It is largely between Corliss and James B. Francis of the Rumford Committee. The former seems to have been very particular about the wording of the description which was to be read when the medals were presented. However, a form was at length agreed upon, with but one rift in the lute, when Mr. Francis was moved in a moment of impatience to depart from the generally eulogistic tone of the letters to say:

"Your memo I have read with interest. Prof. Gray being a Botanist will no doubt prefer yours as the most flowery."

For the most part relations seem to have been most satisfactory. There is little in his later correspondence to give the reader a very clear idea of Corliss as a personality. Their diction is businesslike, and more or less formal, in spite of the informality of their appearance, owing to the writer's having crossed out several lines at a time in some places. Those written to him show contemporary opinion of his inventions, whose dicta have been borne out by time. For from 1876, when his huge engine drove the machinery at the Centennial, to the coming of the steam turbine, the Corliss engine was the standard mill and factory prime-mover of this country.

## Westward by Canal

"HERE and there in Ohio, Indiana and the Eastern States," says Alvin F. Harlow in his book, *Old Towpaths*, "the pedestrian . . . may sometimes notice the faint indication of an embankment or a shallow depression, weed-grown but stretching away with such regularity of line as to rouse his belief that it may be an artificial work. . . . If he will inquire in the neighborhood he may find some white-bearded ancient who remembers that these poor ruins are all that is left of what was once a great internal improvement, the pride of the locality and the State — a canal."



AN ILLUSTRATION FROM AN OLD BOOK ON THE

ERIE CANAL FOR CHILDREN, BY THE  
AUTHOR OF THE "ROLLO BOOKS"

This is one of a series of *Marco Paul's Travels and Adventures in the Pursuit of Knowledge*. The picture shows a canal boat at the left and a Conestoga wagon at the right.

William Dean Howells writes that canals in 1837 were a greater achievement than railroads were in 1897. Before the railroad came, there was an elaborate system of them, built with characteristic American enthusiasm and enterprise, by men who were not professional engineers, many of whom had never seen a canal. The Erie gave New York her start toward becoming the American metropolis, and Pennsylvania had a system of state canals, supplemented by short railroads, which connected Philadelphia with Pittsburgh.

An expense account and diary kept during a trip over this Pennsylvania Main Line in 1835 gives an interesting picture of this form of transportation in its heyday. It seems to be a record of the expenditures and experiences of a Mrs. Adams and her three children, and also of a Mr. and Mrs. Lewis who accompanied them, from Boston to Cincinnati. The trip was made in short stages, by coach to Providence, thence by boat to New York, where passengers changed boats for Philadelphia, stopping in New York for breakfast. Philadelphia was connected with the first link of the canal system by a railroad running to Columbia on the Susquehanna. From there one travelled by canal boat to Hollidaysburg, at the foot of the Allegheny divide. The Portage Railroad carried passengers over the divide, by a series of inclined planes, the cars operated alternately by horse power and stationary engines. The last stage of the journey was again by canal, from Johnstown to Pittsburgh.

The "remarks" at the end of the expense account seem to have been written by Mr. Lewis. After some description of Philadelphia, he begins his account of the journey in the "carrs" which were drawn by horses to the foot of the first inclined plane, which they "ascended by means of machinery. . . . At the top of the hill wife and I stepped out of the Carrs and walked into the engine building and viewed the working of the machinery and were satisfied that it was very safe but little or no danger with passenger Carrs as they were not heavy enough to break the rope.

"After getting nicely warmed in the Machinery room," he continues, "got into the Carrs and were eased down the hill again very pleasantly. Although the weather was unpleasant and Stormy in the forenoon, the Carrs were quite leaky, the view of fine farms, orchards, and other Scenery passed the time off quite pleasantly."

At Lancaster they had at the "dining house, (we could ascertain no other name for it), very good beef and well cooked and good



bread but poor pies &c." The price of this meal does not appear, but dinner on the railroad is listed at \$1.00 for Mrs. Adams and the three children.

On the boat, which was so late that the party had given up hope of its arrival that night and gone to bed, Mr. Lewis says that they "soon got snug into their berths and had a very good nights sleep." Either they chose a more favorable season than did Dickens on his visit to America, or they were better seasoned travellers. His first impression of the snug berths was that they were "three long tiers of hanging book shelves designed apparently for volumes of the small octavo size. Looking with greater attention at these contrivances," says he, "I descried on each shelf a sort of microscopic sheet and blanket; then I began dimly to comprehend that the passengers were the library, and that they were to be arranged edge-wise on these shelves till morning."

Berths were sometimes assigned by precedence, and sometimes by lot.

Breakfast consisted of shad, beef steak, sausage, and first rate bread. With the whole charge for meals on the canal boat to Hollidaysburg given at \$4.25, this seems very good fare for the money. The fish was caught from the boat, as it proceeded at the pace of about four miles an hour. Mr. Lewis remarks that "it seemed to be a complete time of leisure on board the boat, some employed themselves in reading, some in conversation, and some in sleeping. I should say about equally divided.

"We came to a bend in the canal about 7 O'clock this morning," he says, "where the captain said that we might have walked across by travelling a distance of about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile and the Boat would have to go 5 Miles but it being about breakfast time we thought it best to stay by the boat. We stoped at this place and got some milk &c."

He describes the trip over the Portage Railroad, with the mountains "very steep and high, presipices often hanging over us in frightful appearances." They were late in consequence of the Chief Engineer's ordering the suspension of the use of the engine on the Sabbath, as one day a week was needed for repairs, the railroad not yet having its full complement of engines.

On the second canal boat a ten year old boy created some excitement by falling overboard, and being promptly rescued by one of the hands. The child was one of six who, with their mother, had started for Detroit. Their father, who had "gone out to that coun-

try to look out a situation, had agreed to meet his wife and children at Portsmouth on the Ohio. She not finding him there preferred proceeding on with her six children than to wait longer for him on expense."

Probably the Adamses or the Lewises themselves were also a part of the tide of emigration that swept westward over the canals at that period. The accounts for the two families present an amusing medley of items, some of which suggest permanence in the new country. Mr. Lewis seems to have bought two calves, a full blooded Durham bull, and a heifer, half Durham and half Ayrshire, for \$40.00. Other items are an umbrella, for a dollar; "cloth for N's. Pantaloons; Worcester's third book; Barnes' Notes on the Gospels; Bronze Snuffers; Hat Tree; 2 Bl. Covers & a Chair; Book Shelves & Rocking Chair; China tea set; pants at Newmans; and Subscribed for the Missionary Herald."

Cake and lemonade, and gingerbread and lemonade appear frequently among the travelling expenses. A map of Ohio is one entry, and "oranges and shaving," aggregating nineteen cents, is another.

The casual little record leaves the travellers keeping the Sabbath at Utica by attending the Presbyterian Meeting House. If the rest of their history is left in obscurity, we can at least be sure that they could face whatever difficulties were in store for them with a good conscience.

## The Mail Stage in Massachusetts

THE thought of how short a time we have been modern is brought to mind by remembering that less than a century ago mail stages were running in Massachusetts. The Indian Tavern, Bromfield Street, was the starting point for lines to Newport, New Bedford and Bristol, and until 1840 they furnished the regular mode of conveying mail to those towns and intermediate points. The mail was still carried by private contractors, and the elements of chance and whim on the part of drivers still entered into its delivery, on time and in good order.

One of a bundle of old letters, written to Nathaniel Blake, stage owner, between 1824 and 1845, attests this state of affairs. It is a communication from the Assistant Post Master General, in regard to the fact that the "Boston Mail, Route 2971, was in a very wet and injured condition on its arrival at Taunton on the 6th inst. — This injury was sustained, it is said, in consequence of the careless-

ness of some of your drivers, carrying the Portmanteau on the Top of the Coach instead of in a secure dry Boot under their feet, or in the Body of the Coach as your contract directs — A Penalty of \$10 is charged against you and your explanation desired."

These letters, two account books and an oil painting of Mr. Blake, a senatorial-looking gentleman in a stock, have been given to the Society by Mr. Blake's granddaughter, now living in Milford, Massachusetts. They cover the last and most flourishing period of coaching in New England.

A few years before the coming of the railroad sounded the knell of the stage coach as a practical institution, there were a hundred and six lines running from Boston. In 1818, all those in eastern Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and others in Maine and Rhode Island, had been formed into a syndicate, the Eastern Stage Company.

"Profits were enormous," says Alice Morse Earle in her *Stage Coach and Tavern Days*. "The directors' meetings were symposiums of satisfaction, and stockholders gloated over their incomes."

Before that, the rivalry between competitors was intense. Israel Hatch, an early stage-owner, announced that he was "determined, at the expiration of his contract for carrying the mail from Providence to Boston, to carry it gratis, which will undoubtedly prevent further underbiddings of the Envious."

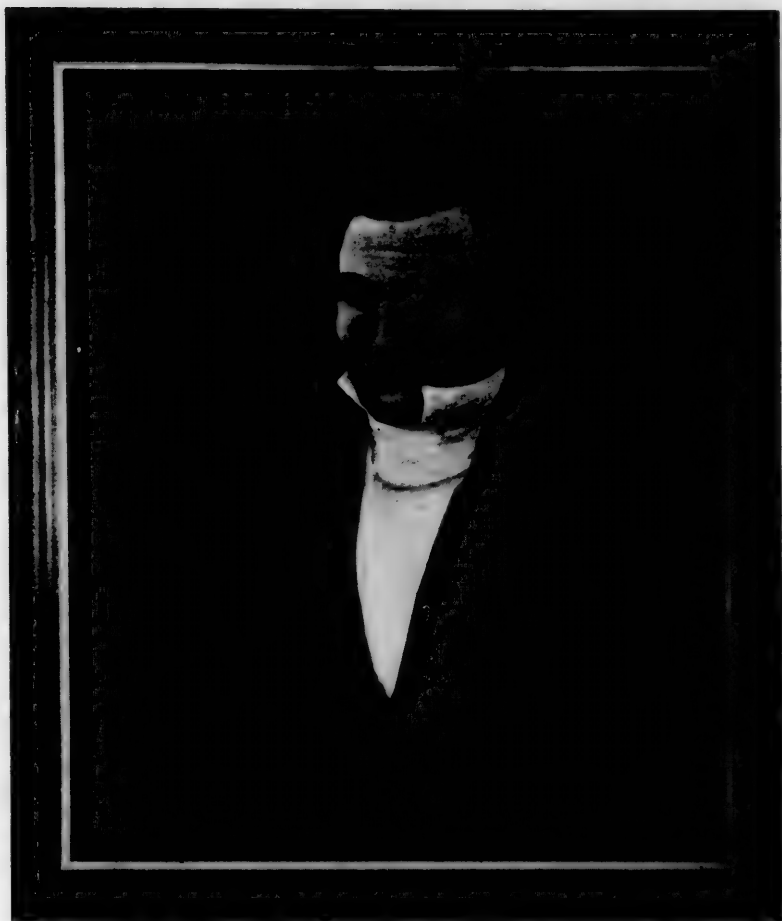
"The Envious" seems to have been Thomas Beal, whose rival carriages were pronounced "genteel and easy." His price was nine shillings "and less if any other person will carry them for that sum."

This rivalry gave the editor of the *Providence Gazette* occasion to write:

"We are rattled from Providence to Boston in four hours and fifty minutes — If any one wants to go faster he may send to Kentucky and charter a streak of Lightning."

Price lowering went to the point of an offer by a line, which was being undercut by a new comer in the field, to carry the first booked applicants for nothing. The rival retorted by advertising a free dinner at the end of the journey, whereupon the old line added this inducement plus a bottle of wine. Mrs. Earle describes the amusing result of the competition:

"Mr. Shaffer, a fashionable teacher of dancing and deportment in Boston, an arbiter in social life, and man about town, had a gay ride on Monday to Providence, a good dinner, and the promised



**NATHANIEL BLAKE, STAGE OWNER DURING THE LAST OF THE COACHING DAYS IN MASSACHUSETTS, FROM AN OIL PAINTING PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY. AS LATE AS 1840, THE STAGE COACH WAS THE REGULAR MEANS OF CONVEYING MAIL, GOODS, AND PASSENGERS BETWEEN BOSTON AND NEWPORT, NEW BEDFORD, AND BRISTOL.**

bottle of wine, and on Wednesday started to Providence again. With a crowd of gay young sparks this frolic continued till Saturday, when the rival coach lines compromised and signed a contract to charge thereafter two dollars a trip."

The rivalry between owners and drivers extended to passengers, who became violent partisans of one road or another. In the early days partisanship led, on occasion, to threatening exhibitions of bowie knives and pistols.

Such spectacular incidents were, of course, the exception rather than the rule. The letters concern themselves mainly with the routine of running a stage line. Mr. Blake seems to have lost one mail contract for which he applied, in favor of a certain Silvanus Lazell, through his bid's having gone astray in the post.

Another letter indicates the miscellaneous character of the services performed by the stage proprietor. Charles Cotton writes from Newport:

"Will you procure for Mr. Potter, the keeper of the Bellevue Hotel in this town, a fresh Salmon of 14 or 15 Pounds & send it by the Stage on Monday next, directed to him. It will be wanted for the dinner of the Medical Society on Wednesday."

Another relates to the "prayer of Petitioners" from Randolph, East Stoughton and North Bridgewater for six mails a week. They were receiving only three, but as the stage came through six times a week, the Post Office Department considered that the spirit, if not the letter, of Mr. Blake's contract, and a disposition to oblige the public, should lead him to deliver mail as often as the stages ran. The Department, therefore, gave him the authority to do this, but did not feel able to offer an extra compensation of more than \$100 per annum for the service.

Later he is asked to furnish information on his rates, the distances between towns along his route, what are the usual charges at the hotels, etc., for a gazetteer of the United States, which supplied to travellers the place of the modern automobile Blue Book.

An inventory of property at Stoughton, including "Buffloes skins" reminds us that stage travelling in winter was a cold affair.

A schedule of the Bridgewater mail, time from Boston six hours, with provision for a fine for all failures to convey the mail in the prescribed time, unless satisfactorily explained with proper proof, indicates a mighty improvement in speed and punctuality over the preceding century, when a New Yorker wrote "our Philadelphia post is a week behind, and not yet com'd in."



But for all its improved efficiency and accommodations, the stage coach was nearing its last days.

"No one," says Mrs. Earle, "was shrewd enough to heed the warning which might have been heard through the land, 'Look out for the engine,' and soon the assets of the stage coach company were as dust and ashes. On the prosperous routes of the Eastern Stage Company, during the first ten years, myriads of taverns had sprung up: vast brick stables had been built for the hundreds of horses, scores of blacksmiths' forges had been set up, and some of these shops were very large. These buildings were closed as suddenly as they were built, and rotted unused.

"This period of the brilliant existence of the Eastern Stage Company was also the date of the coaching age of England. . . . The year 1836, which saw the publication of *Pickwick*, wherein is so fine a picture of old coaching days, was the culminating point of the mail-coach system. Just as it was perfected it was rendered useless by the railroad."

## Speed and Safety on Early Hudson River Steamboats

THE time when Hudson River steamboating was an experiment and an adventure is brought to mind by an old advertisement of the "splendid safety barges 'Lady Clinton' and 'Lady Van Rensselaer,' towed by steamboats of great power," operating between New York and Albany in 1826. After the Supreme Court decision in 1824 that the New York laws prohibiting vessels licensed according to the laws of the United States from navigating the waters of the State of New York by means of fire and steam, are repugnant to the . . . constitution, [of the United States,] and void," steam vessels had increased and multiplied on the Hudson, and opposition lines sprung up to share the business of Livingston and Fulton's old North River line. The line of safety barges ran in the summer season from 1825 to 1829, and were calculated to allay the fears of those to whom the new mode of travel still seemed too precarious.

The advertisement assures passengers that the boats perform the passage in about the average time of the ordinary steamboat, and goes on to state that the "Commerce" and "Swiftsure," the towing



ONE OF THE "SAFETY BARGES" WHICH RAN ON THE HUDSON  
 BETWEEN 1825 AND 1829, DESIGNED TO MINIMIZE  
 THE TERRORS OF EARLY STEAMBOATING.

boats, are elegant and staunch-built vessels of 270 tons burthen, and that the barges are "splendid vessels, of nearly 200 tons burthen, fitted exclusively for passengers, with dining Cabins of 90 feet in length; pleasant deck Cabins for the accomodation of the Ladies; ranges of State-rooms for private families; reading rooms, and all the usual accomodations found in the best Steam Boats . . . the whole forming, probably, the best and most eligible travelling establishment ever offered to the public.

"Passengers on board the Safety Barges will not be in the least exposed to any accident which may happen by reason of the fire, or steam, on board of the Steam Boats. The noise of the machinery, the trembling of the boat, the heat from the furnace, boilers, and kitchen, and everything which may be considered as unpleasant or dangerous, on board of a Steam Boat, are entirely avoided."

The time between New York and Albany of these barges with their powerful towing boats, was 18 or 20 hours, scarcely 8 miles an hour, and not much improvement over the "Clermont." In the next few years, however, the speed of steamboats was increased, and the accomodations were improved so greatly that the barges were discontinued in 1829, for lack of patronage. Indeed, by 1828 the English engineer David Stevenson, writing on engineering in North

America, comments on the fact that the amazing tales of the speed of American steamboats, which some Europeans were inclined to doubt, were all true, and that the "Rochester," on which he made the trip from Albany to New York, attained the speed of 16.55 miles an hour, going with the current.

This same "Rochester," and the "Swallow," a boat belonging to a rival line, were said to be the two fastest of the Hudson River steamboats at the time. Daniel Drew had an interest in the "Rochester." Every trip of these two was a race, the honors remaining about even for almost a whole season. The suspense finally became unbearable, and a trial was arranged, with no passengers on board. The "Rochester" won by five minutes, (making a 140-mile trip in 8 hours and 57 minutes), on account of some engine trouble which delayed the "Swallow."

Racing was not confined to the "Rochester" and the "Swallow." In the early 40's the safety of passengers became a thing of slight moment in comparison with the importance of breaking a rival's record. It was a general thing for a steamboat in competition with another to slow up when approaching a way stop, lower a small boat over the side, and sheer in near the landing. The passengers on the wharf would jump into the small boat as best they could, and the steamboat would be on her way again. The legislature finally put a stop to this boarding and landing "on the fly," in consequence of an accident at Poughkeepsie in which several passengers lost their lives.

### **In Memoriam**

A SHORT time ago the Society lost from its rolls a member who has for years been most active and efficient in the world of business research. At the time of her death, Mrs. Jennie Lee Schram was Director of Research and Librarian of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce. She was born in St. Louis, and her first library position was that of Assistant Librarian of the Public Library of Webster Groves, Missouri. While she held this post she became interested in special library work, and enrolled at Washington University for special courses.

From the time when the Bell Telephone Company at St. Louis employed her to install a filing system and take charge of the company's library, she has done splendid work in her own field, first

with Graham, Anderson, Probst and White, who were the engineers for the Hercules Powder Company during the war, for the Illinois Power and Light Company, and finally for the Illinois Chamber of Commerce.

An account of her work in *Special Libraries*, at the time of her death, calls her "outstanding in her ability to accomplish an immense amount of work." She was active in securing the formation of the Illinois Chapter of the Special Libraries Association, and was made its Secretary on its installation in 1925. She gave freely of her time and energy in all its affairs, and also participated largely in the activities of the national Special Libraries Association, and a number of others.

The Business Historical Society, and indeed, everyone interested in business research, will feel keenly the loss of Mrs. Schram, of whom the Executive Vice-President of her own organization said, "She was one of the most competent Research Directors I have ever known."

## Secretary's Column

The following acquisitions have been received during the past month and are gratefully acknowledged: —

From J. M. Davis, President, Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, New York, A fine set of tracings of early Delaware, Lackawanna and Western locomotives, and a historical sketch of early activities, catalogues and other data.

From Hon. F. H. Gillett, U. S. Senate, Files of Congressional Records.

From Charles E. Lauriat, C. E. Lauriat Company, Boston, "The Down Easters, American Deep Water Sailing Ships" by Basil Lubbock; also "Old Sailing Ships of New England."

From L. F. Loree, President, Delaware and Hudson Company, New York, "A Century of Progress," History of the Delaware and Hudson Company, 1823-1923.

From Hon. George Holden Tinkham, U. S. Congress, Files of Congressional Records.

From Delfin Carlos Silva, Director, Instituto de Expansao Commercial, Rio de Janeiro Economic and Statistical information of development.

From Romolo Angelone, Commercial Attaché, Royal Italian Embassy, Business and Financial Reports, Complete file of reports issued by the General Fascist Confederation of Industries.

- From Frederic W. Fuller, Equitable Life Assurance Society, Springfield, Mass., British Office Life Tables Experience, 1863-1893, published by Charles and Edwin Layton, London. 10 vols.
- From James Hazen Hyde, Paris, France, Three cases of correspondence of Henry B. Hyde to be held under seal for a term of years.
- From A. B. Svenska Handelsbanken, Stockholm, Sweden, Directory of Swedish Ports and Shipping, Index of condition, year 1929, History of Svenska Handelsbanken, 1871, and other material.
- From Miss Ethelwyn Blake, Milford, Mass., Barber, J. W., Historical Collections of traditions, biographical sketches, etc.
- From Theron S. Dean, Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company, Burlington, Vt., Files of Life Insurance Courant.
- From Izba Handlowa, Katowice, Poland, Miscellaneous Polish financial and Statistical material.
- From J. E. Hooper, Chairman, Doulton and Company, Ltd. London, Blacker, J. F., The A. B. C. of English Salt-Glaze Stone Ware, The Royal Doulton Potteries.
- From High Commissioner for Southern Rhodesia, London, Statistical Review of Southern Rhodesia from 1920-1927, and other material.
- From The Gas Light and Coke Company, London, History of Company from 1812-1912.
- From Richard W. Hale, Boston, "Manchester at work," a survey.
- From C. H. Wight, Glen Ridge, N. J., Files of the Wall Street Magazine and Financial World.
- From A. G. Leonard, President, Union Stock Yard and Transit Company, Chicago, Ogilvie, William E., Pioneer Agricultural Journalists, 1927.
- From C. I. Sturgis, Vice-President, Chicago, Burlington and Quincy R. R., Chicago, Documentary history of Chicago, Burlington and Quincy R. R., Vol. 3. (Vols. 1 and 2 previously acknowledged.)
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- From Die Handelskammer, Berlin, Germany, Die Schaffende Unterweser Bremen in Welthandel, by Dr. Alfred Lorner, Bremens Schiffs- und Guterverkehr, 1926-1927, by Dr. H. Flugel.
- From Thomas W. Streeter, New York, Ledger of the New York, Providence and Boston R. R., 1833-1837, About 150 letters received by John Tucker, President, Philadelphia and Reading R. R., from 1843 to 1847.
- From an officer of the Society, Collection of monographs, manuscripts, corporation data and other material.
- From H. H. Shearer, Directory Engineer, American Telephone and Telegraph Company, New York, Telephone directories of sixteen principal cities.
- From F. C. Fairholme, Thomas Firth and Sons, Ltd., Sheffield, England, The History of Firths.

#### MEMBERSHIP

The following names have been enrolled since the last issue of the Bulletin:

- Allston Burr, Director, Coffin and Burr Inc., Boston.
- Richard W. Sulloway, Treasurer, Sulloway Mills, Franklin, N. H.

# BULLETIN *of The* BUSINESS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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*Volume IV, No. 2*

MARCH, 1930

*Whole Number 24*

## A Business Sidelight on the Civil War

THE history of markets, prices, speculations, of mercantile ventures to new territory as it is conquered, during any great war, would make fascinating reading, and fill volumes. A chapter of business history during the Civil War could be written from a folder of old letters discovered among the private business papers of Charles W. Wilder, a partner of the firm of Wilder and Estabrook, which later became Estabrook and Eaton.

The letters relate to the adventures of the tug-boat "Boston" at New Orleans, beginning at the close of General Butler's administration there, and continuing in that of his successor, General Banks, during the year 1863. The "Boston" seems to have arrived hopefully in New Orleans in August, 1862, for Mr. Wilder receives a letter from Colonel Jonas H. French, General Butler's Provost Marshal, to the effect that the "Boston" has arrived safely. Unfortunately, however, she put in at Key West, "where yellow fever is raging fearfully — and of course is now detained a month at quarantine. The safety of our whole command depends upon a very strict quarantine, and it is impossible for us to attempt to vary any regulations the Major Genl. has laid down. . . . However, if I see any chance be assured I will use it to get her off."

The quarantine, like every other feature of Butler's administration, was made a subject for complaint by his enemies. The consuls, who were Southern in their sympathies and affiliations, took

every pretext to quarrel with him, and the detention of the Spanish steamer "Cardenas" for a month was the occasion of hot protests, and even a threat from the Spanish Consul. He was understood, through the interpreter, to announce that if the "Cardenas" were not released, that he would keep a certain American ship quarantined for a month at fever-stricken Havana. In spite of the ill feeling they aroused, the methods of General Butler seem to have been carried out with remarkable effectiveness, for while the fever raged in the neighboring ports of Havana and Nassau, New Orleans had but a single case in 1862.

"New Orleans has often escaped the yellow fever for years in succession," says James Parton in his biography of the General. "The city had *never* escaped it in such circumstances as existed in 1862."

"The markets as I expected are glutted with provisions," continues the letter of Colonel French. "Pork can be bot for 13\$ and bacon for less price than in Boston. The cargo of the Brig Sarah is in the hands of Mr. Newell. I hope he has sold it — or the most of it — if not I shall advise him to hold it for the present. The prices will check shipments — then when the stock is reduced — money can be made. Mr. Newell has bot a good cargo of sugar. It is prime — and I think will give the vessel a good freight.

"We have rumors of the removal of Genl Butler. What does it mean? It will be ruinous to the interests of the government — no policy can control these people save the one Genl Butler has adopted. There is no use to sprinkle these people with rose-water. They laugh at you — and say you are afraid when you attempt to conciliate them.

"But you cant tell what influences are at work at Washington. The more they attempt to crush Ben Butler the higher he will rise. He has more brain than any General they have got."

Between this intense loyalty on the part of his own men and supporters, and the bitter hatred of the people of New Orleans and of the South at large, it is difficult to form a judicial estimate of Butler's character from the testimony of contemporaries. Some of the complexities of his situation at New Orleans are indicated in the preceding extract. While a man of more tact might have left less bitterness behind, the intense anti-Northern feeling in the city at the time made the position of a Northern commanding general there a well-nigh impossible one.

With the next letter, the scene changes from the field of national

policies to the private concerns of the crew of the "Boston." It is a recital of villainies on the part of the captain, signed by the chief engineer and two assistants.

"I write to inform you that I have left the steam Tug Boston," it begins, "as Capt Tibbetts and myself could not agree. I stood his abuse as long as I possibly could he has acted more like an insane man on board of the Boston than anything I can compare him to. in every port that we went into he would go on shore on *business* but come back with about as much *Whiskey* as he could bear."

A defect was discovered in the machinery, and Mr. Shedd, the writer, advised the captain to put into Delaware where the boat was built, "but *no* he kept on and the next main port we went into our machinery was almost a compleat *wreck* that was in Beaufort N. C. . . . From Beaufort we proceeded to *Key West* where the Engine was looked over by a drunken Machinest and pronounced in good order. we were in this place seven days and the last Sunday he got the Boat under way and took a drunken party down the Harbour on pretence of trying the Engine. . . .

"From Key West we arrived safe at the Mouth of the Mississippi we were detained at quarantine thirty days and during that time he was not on board of his own boat one half of the time. . . . a few days before our Quarantine was up he had a grand Jubily by firing up the Boat and going down the river some ten or twelve miles and towing up a schooner for nothing, he had some six or seven Captains and the Whiskey passed pretty freely among all of them. furthermore things that were put on board of the Boat in Boston were thrown over Board by order of Capt Tibbitts such as herring and two bbls of Bread. and some Clorid of lime which was put on board he gave away three Cans. . . . Since we have been in New Orleans he has had a number of things done to the Machinery without consulting me in regard to any thing. and I could not in consience stay on board of the Boat any longer and see things go on in that stile. there is not a man that came out in the Boston that has been used like a man. I can substantiate all that is written above."

Whether or not this story has any truth in it, and if not, what motive led the three engineers to concoct it, does not appear from the letters. One of the partners in the venture later writes, in connection with the affair:

"The Key West part of the story like the rest is all humbug. Shedd is fully entitled to best place known for the devils assistants;" and

in another place, "Captain Tibbetts is a man and a Gentleman and you must know that I felt rather *flat* when I came to get at the facts in the case. But after all it is an agreeable surprise."

The next few letters, from Mr. Newell and Captain Tibbetts, give an account of the towing of various vessels, and of business prospects, with some mention of the progress of the war. Mr. Newell complains that the "Boston" will not be able to tow to the sea much longer on account of certain strong currents which are now running, and again says:

"You want two more boats about three times as large as this one, very fast and then there is money in the towing business on this river. But when the river gets to running strong this boat is too small to tow up against it. She will be a good job boat or if they ever get the river open will be a good boat to tow Barges and flat boats."

Neither Port Hudson nor Vicksburg had been taken at the time these letters were written, and all the references to the situation show the same skepticism.

Mr. Newell thinks that towing barges up the river and bringing down confiscated sugar would be more profitable than the present business, but there would be the risk of being captured by guerillas. He seems generally pessimistic and advises waiting for a favorable chance and selling the boat.

In the next letter he refers to General Butler's alleged disreputable commercial dealings in New Orleans:

"In regard to getting on the right Track to make money if you come out will depend a good deal on the course to be pursued by General Banks if he supercedes Genl Butler as it is now supposed he will.

"For the last two months, there has been no track that did not lead directly into the pockets of the B—'s if Genl Banks allows an open market, & a fair show for outsiders something might be [—?] At present Sugar and molasses is higher than in New York."

Gamaliel Bradford says of the affair:

"Whatever Butler's personal concern with the matter, there was no excuse for the crowd he had about him. All his life he was as loyal in sticking to his friends as he was indiscreet in the choice of them."

The correspondent continues his letter in the same discouraged strain:

"It is not known what is to be undertaken by the troops under Genl Banks, it is reported to day that Vicksburg has been attacked



by the Gun Boats but the result is not known, it is very doubtful whether the opening of the River would improve business here. The stock of provisions is very heavy now & if a passage is made from above down will come any quantity in addition, while the planters have nothing but confederate money, & most of their crops have been confiscated & taken off by the 'Genl Commission,' with hired Negroes to be turned adrift when their services are no longer needed, the truth is the whole system of labor here on plantations has been broken up by the course pursued by those in command."

"Your friend Col French," he says in another place, "has been relieved from his duties as Provo Martial, Col Wright of New York having been appointed in his place. whether Col F. has made a pile of money or not remains to be seen, he has had a good chance & many persons believe he has done so. others doubt it."

Finally, someone seems to be negotiating to buy the "Boston," but the transaction is upset by an order from General Banks, denying all persons passes to Vera Cruz, where the prospective purchaser is.

With things at their gloomiest, a new character, Jesse Boynton, appears on the scene, radiating energy and optimism. His first account of the situation paints Captain Tibbetts in glowing terms:

"Captain Tibbetts is the smartest and best Tow Boat Capt on this River. He is sought after by all Masters of Vessels arriving at this Port. He is more than we bargained for and what is the best part of it the acct of the Boat is quite as much in her favor as we have a right to expect under all circumstances. . . . I am fully persuaded that we must put another Boat on the River. I am going out in the morning to look at one that is offered for sale and if she will do shall put you in for it."

After further commendation for the Captain, and a word for Mr. Newell, who is "a man of the strictest integrity," he continues, under another date, with the fact that he has been to see the boat, and she will not do.

"I do not believe we can get what we want however without building one," he says, "and had better be looking round immediately. We want a Boat of great power 3 times or more that of the Boston, one that costs from 30 to 35 Thousand dollars with a Wrecking pump attached to her. . . . Had Capt T. had such a Boat he would have got 10,000\$ from the Marion. He is always the first man there. If he had the right kind of a Boat here now, she would coin money."

More specifications for the boat follow, two days later, written in an expansive mood:

"We want as good a Hull as can be made and the best and strongest Machinery possible, . . . with large storage capacity for fuel, and ample accommodations for Capt and Crew, . . . considerably Clipper built for this River. . . . Everything should be in the most thorough and substantial manner possible without any regard to the saving of a few hundred dollars but no expense for fancy. All plain. . . . Should there be any parties in this who are not ready to come up unhesitatingly and put in their money for this take their interest in it for me, or you and me as you please. I tell you we are all right we have the right man in the right place."

There is a great deal more discussion of the boat, and an account of some speculations in molasses and sugar Mr. Boynton has undertaken, and an occasional comment on the progress of military operations. The new administration comes in for its share of criticism:

"I asked Capt T. what his opinion was in the event of the establishment of the Southern Confederacy of Northern men remaining here. His reply was he had no fears for himself but some would stand a poor show. The opinion is general here that there will be no important Military movement in this department for the present. The taking of Port Hudson is gone by for this season. The lines of the Federals may be extended to allow those who are in the Ring an opportunity to gobble up Sugar Cotton &c but for or with no view to fight a Battle as that might hurt somebody. One sees no southern men here comparatively, the place is desolated to a great extent. A Gentleman, a northern man from Mass, told me to day that he was working the Plantation of one of three Brothers who are all in the Confed. Army as privates and at the time they went in they had on deposit (675,000\$) Six hundred and seventy five Thousand dollars. The Plantation he is working is valued at a Million dollars. If any one has any doubts of the determination on their part he better look and see what sacrifices are made."

A postscript says: "Great excitement here in the Sugar Market. Also a Battle to come off at Port Hudson;" and later: "Banks defeated at Port Hudson. And apparently chagrined has returned and commenced issuing orders taxing Cotton 5\$ per Bale, Sugar 1.8 pr Hhd Molasses 25¢ per Bbl. . . . I can't see as this is far from a despotism in this department now. No one can tell to day what may be the order for tomorrow."

The discussion of the new boat goes on without any results for

several months, when the whole adventure is brought to a sudden and dramatic close. On June 10 Captain Tibbetts telegraphs, collect, to the effect that "about 15 or 20 men boarded the Boston at half past 9 o'clock last night at Papa Loutre [?] while I was towing in the Bark Jenny Lind. I was on board the Bark at the time, they cut the ropes & left so quick I had not time to get on board the Boston."

The epilogue appears in a letter written in 1867, from Havana, by the captain of another boat, apparently an acquaintance of Wilder's.

"While taking a sail in my boat the other day," it runs, "I thought I recognized an old acquaintance in a rusty looking tug lying away up in the Guanabacoa corner of the bay, and on boarding ascertained that she was the historical 'Boston.'"

"She is claimed by parties in Mobile, has a ship-keeper on board. her hull is in good order (but bare of paint) one mast standing, engine not been taken care of, looks rusty, so can not speak for that without proper examination. If I can assist you in reclaiming her, please write me."

Whether or not the "Boston" was ever reclaimed, we do not know, for with this forlorn picture the letters leave her.

## New Committee for the Preservation of Historical Data

THE American Council of Learned Societies has recently formed, in conjunction with The Social Science Research Council, a committee on the enlargement, improvement and preservation of data. Professor Norman S. B. Gras, of Harvard University, has been appointed a member. The work of the committee will be to discover the needs of scholars who are engaged in research in the humanities and the social sciences. Presumably action will be taken later to assist investigators in these subjects. It is obvious that the committee will be doing about the same kind of work as The Business Historical Society, but in a more comprehensive field.

## History of a Thirteenth Century Copper Mine

A RECENT and most interesting gift to the Society comprises two beautifully illustrated volumes of historical material from what is possibly the oldest business enterprise in existence, the famous Swedish copper mine, Stora Kopparberg. The books are a gift

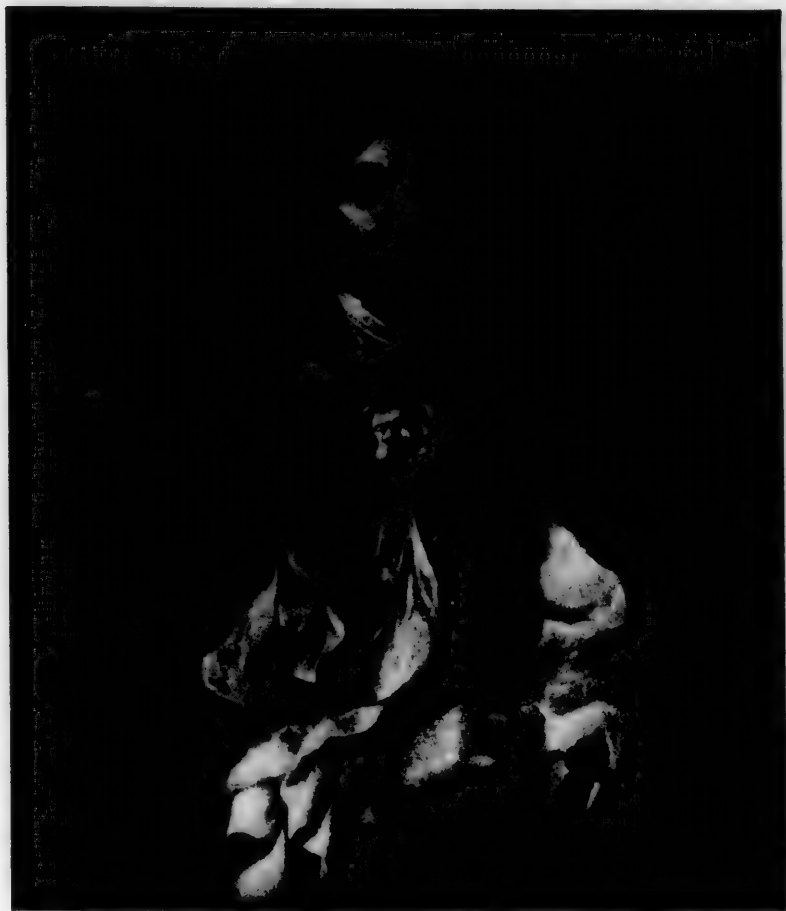


VISIT OF KING GUSTAF III TO THE FALUN MINE IN 1788

"Far up in front," runs the description of this picture as translated from the Swedish, "is the King, and towards him comes a man bowing. In the foreground one can see workers with their torches and a wagon with coal on it drawn by a horse."

from the company. It was established in the decade of the 1280's. A study of the history of this old company, by Dr. Henrietta Larson, will be published in a future issue of the *Journal of Economic and Business History*.

The English summaries which follow the Swedish text describe the first volume as treating in part certain fundamental problems in the history of Swedish mining, and in part a general survey of historical literature concerning Stora Kopparbergs Bergslag. The first



PORTRAIT OF ONE OF THE OFFICIALS OF STORA KOPPARBERG

Claes Anckarstrom, who was inspector of the mines, in 1654, for the Swedish copper mining company which is possibly the oldest business enterprise in existence. The description given of the picture says that he was also "keeper of the books," (secretary). He was "dressed in a red gown stitched with gold. His hair was long and dark brown."

chapter deals with the origin of Swedish mining, the second with the development of a separate mining district from certain parts of the province of Dalecarlia. The third follows references to Stora Kopparberg in literature from the earliest ones at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The second volume contains biographical material, and portraits of personages who have been connected with the mine, in addition to a number of royal portraits, procured by the company in 1658, when the collection was founded. It is one of the oldest in Sweden. To quote from the summary: "The main part of it is placed in the magnificent state apartment of the Company with neighboring rooms in the head office building at Falun; it presents a splendid symbol of the development of the powerful corporation during the last three centuries. The numerous portraits illustrate its history."

## An Unpublished History

THE first use of fire for heating or cooking purposes by primitive man marked a long step toward civilization. In historical times, the discovery that coal could be used instead of wood was less revolutionary in its effects, but it meant a great advance in efficiency. The unpublished manuscript of a history of the coal stove has been presented to the Society by Miss Helen E. Keep, the daughter of its author. It reveals unexpected elements of the picturesque in the evolution of this highly practical invention.

William John Keep, the author, was himself connected with the manufacture of stoves. Through his book, *Cast Iron*, he was recognized as an authority on that material, and his discovery of the mechanical analysis for it, known as "Keep's Test," has been widely used in this and other countries instead of chemical analysis. He had planned to put the information collected in the course of his experience in stove manufacture into permanent form in the fiftieth year of his connection with the industry, and his unpublished book was the result. The earlier chapters, particularly, are full of curious bits of information.

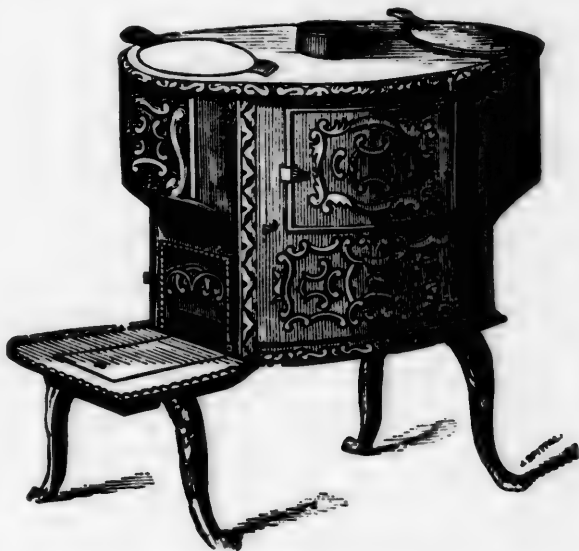
While the commercial value of coal was appreciated earlier, by brewers and others who needed large quantities of fuel for their occupations, coal did not come into domestic use in England until about 1600, on account of a common prejudice to the effect that burning it contaminated the air and injured the health. Indeed, in



1306, the King was petitioned by Parliament to prohibit its use in London, and a law was passed making the burning of coal there a capital offense. In the reign of Edward I a man was actually executed for burning coal in London.

Even after 1600, when open grates for coal were beginning to be used, ladies often refused to enter a room where the fuel was being

## TEN PLATE, OR BALTIMORE COOK.



A TYPE OF STOVE WHICH WAS POPULAR IN THE UNITED STATES IN  
THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 18TH CENTURY

burned, and would not eat meat which had been roasted over a coal fire, for fear of injuring their complexions. Late in the sixteenth century, Sir Hugh Pratt attempted to make a substitute for the obnoxious coal by mixing coal-dust with clay and loam, and forming it into balls.

One improvement in stoves, in 1678, is interesting from its author, Prince Rupert. This "mad prince" Palatine, nephew of the ill-fated Charles I, whose brilliant part in the English Civil War

left such contradictory impressions with Royalist and Parliamentarian, was a scientist and inventor of some ability. After the defeat of his uncle's cause, he for some time headed a futile attempt to harrass the Parliamentary fleet with what remained of those ships which had taken the Royalist side. After the failure of that forlorn hope, he lived in France until the Restoration.

"During these years of exile from England," writes Lord Ronald Gower, "and while in Paris, Rupert commenced those practical experiments in chemistry, and in the improvement of war materials, which would have made him famous had he been born in a laboratory, and not in a palace. In his laboratory in Paris, where he was credited with trying to discover the philosopher's stone, he made some of those discoveries which have unfortunately not outlived his own career. Among these was a new kind of gunpowder which was said to possess ten times the strength of that then in use."

The grate which he invented directed the smoke and gases back over the fire to produce a higher temperature than if they went directly upward.

Mr. Keep goes on to describe a number of variations on the fire-place and on brick and tin ovens, and the different kinds of stove which were introduced into the United States by immigrants from the European countries. The Germans who came to New York and Pennsylvania early in the eighteenth century, for instance, used "five plate, or jamb stoves," composed of two sides, a back, a bottom, and a top, and built into the wall at the back of the fire-place, or into the outer wall of the house. They were about two feet high, about two feet wide, and projected into the room about two feet. These stoves were made at the first charcoal blast-furnaces in Pennsylvania and New York, erected from 1720 to 1750. He quotes a description of the buildings of one of these establishments. The furnace itself stood in a "lofty shed built up of logs, while outside near by stood the grist mill, blacksmith's shop, saw mill and carpenter's shop, probably inside of which was the molding room with its pot patterns, caster's tools, scorched flasks and wooden stove molds.

"Not far away stood the stable, hay bins, charcoal house, and master's mansion, with dwellings for indentured English, Irish and German workmen, negro slaves and a few Indian laborers."

From these beginnings, the author follows the development of each type of stove down to the present day, until in the last chapter he arrives at steam heat.



AN ELEVATED OVEN STOVE

The first stove of this type, made about 1830, was called the "Yankee Notion."

### **In Memoriam**

ONCE more the Society has lost by death a valued member, in Mr. Joseph B. Shea, chairman of the board, and former president of the Joseph Horne Company, of Pittsburgh. Mr. Shea attended Princeton, and after his graduation, was engaged in the iron and steel business for a time.

"In a day when steel was the mark of Pittsburgh and Pittsburghers," says an editorial writer in *The Pittsburgh Press*, "Mr. Shea as a young man turned from the forge to merchandising. He became identified with retail merchandising in 1901, when he became a director of the Joseph Horne Company. His genius in that field became evident, and his progress to the chief executive position at Horne's marched evenly with the expansion of that business house."

Mr. Shea was a director of a number of other corporations, and also for a number of years was a leader in the activities of the Chamber of Commerce. During the World War his organizing ability was sought by the government, and he was chief of an important bureau in aircraft production.

Full as his business life was, he found room for numerous other interests. He was a trustee of Princeton University, and lent his coöperation to the civic affairs of his own city. His interest was enlisted by The Business Historical Society, and he became a member of its council. He will be sadly missed by every circle with which he came in contact.

### **Secretary's Column**

The following acquisitions have been received during the past month and are gratefully acknowledged:

From Walter T. Rosen, New York City, Six valuable seventeenth century pamphlets having to do with trade, particularly with coins, debts and interest. One refers to England and the others to Germany.

From Miss Helen E. Keep, Detroit, Michigan, Nine notebooks containing manuscript of a history of the American stove, prepared by her father, William J. Keep. Also "Cast Iron; a Record of Original Research," by William J. Keep.

- From Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags Aktiebolag, Falun, Sweden, Early history of the company and a catalogue of portraits and picture galleries. Also pamphlet material on industries, forestry, fisheries and industrial welfare work. This company was founded in the thirteenth century.
- From Koloniaal Instituut, Amsterdam, Holland, Pamphlets on products of the Dutch East Indies and the Netherlands Indies, published by the Division of Commerce of the Department of Agriculture at Buitenzorg, Java. Also C. J. Hasselman, "Origin, Scope and Future of the Royal Colonial Institute."
- From A. M. Brace, Paris, "Americans in France": a Directory, 1929, published by the American Chamber of Commerce in France.
- From J. H. van Royen, Royal Netherland Legation, Washington, D. C., Pamphlets: The Port of Rotterdam; The Port of Amsterdam; Holland, Belgium and the Powers; The Wielingen, Rights and Interests.
- From Hon. Oscar De Priest, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., Congressional Records, 65th to 69th Congresses.
- From Deutsche Luft Hansa, A. G., Berlin, Bi-Monthly Reports, 1926 to 1929.
- From Buffalo, Niagara and Eastern Power Corporation, Buffalo, New York, "Niagara Power," by Edward Dean Adams.
- From North German Lloyd, Bremen, Germany, Seventy Years North German Lloyd, Bremen, 1857-1927. Also Report and Balance Sheet for 1928.
- From C. H. Wight, Glen Ridge, New Jersey, Memorial volume to Horace B. Claflin, of Claflin, Thayer and Company of New York, a tribute of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York.
- From A. L. Mills, Jr., Portland, Oregon, Cash Book of the First National Bank of Portland, running between the years 1851 and 1858. Also ledger running between the years 1851 and 1860.
- From The American Chamber of Commerce for Italy, Milan, Italy, Books and documents on Italian banking and industry.
- From Earl D. Babst, New York, Annual Reports of the American Sugar Refining Company, 1922 to 1928.
- From Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brussels, Belgium, French and Belgian texts of the Belgian Gray Book for 1929, containing text of principal diplomatic documents relative to the revision of the Treaty of 1829.
- From William O. Taylor, Boston, History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860, by James Leander Bishop, three volumes.

From Miss Mary G. Lacy, Washington, History of the J. H. Backmann Company in Bremen from 1775 to 1925.

From Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pest, Budapest, Hungary, Reports since January, 1928.

From an officer of the Society, Boston Transit Commission, Reports, August 15, 1895 to June 30, 1918. Also manuscripts, periodicals and rare items.

From Polish Chamber of Commerce, Warsaw, Poland, Pamphlets: The Economic Progress of Poland; The Outline of Poland's Resources; Ten Years of the Iron and Steel Industry in Independent Poland; Economic Poland in Diagrams; A Handbook of Poland.

From Owen C. Coy, California Historical Association, Los Angeles, California History Nugget, October, November and December, 1928, and January, 1929.

From H. Lawrence Groves, American Commercial Attaché, U. S. Department of Commerce, Berlin, Two pamphlets on Finance and Trade.

From Professor N. W. Posthumus, Director of the Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief, Amsterdam, Economisch Historisch Jaarboek, 1929.

#### MEMBERSHIP

The following names have been enrolled since the last issue of the Bulletin:

##### GENERAL MEMBERS

Arthur Adams, Boston, Massachusetts.

Fortune, Time, Inc., New York City.

##### AFFILIATED MEMBERS

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*Whole Number 25*

## Boston and the Fugitive Slave Law

SOME correspondence, which has come to the Society, of the Mayor of Boston in April, 1851, in regard to the threat of a "tumult, riot, and mob" over a fugitive slave case, recalls the time when slavery was not only a very live issue, but one which split the North into two bitterly hostile camps. For years Boston abolitionists carried on their campaign in the midst of a community hardly more sympathetic with their views than the South itself. Until within a few years of the war, to join their ranks meant social ostracism at the least. The economic interest of the propertied class was closely bound up with that of the cotton-growing South, and its social sympathies were with the planter rather than with the negro. The sons of revolutionary leaders had become the conservatives of their generation, and the impulse toward extending the blessings of liberty to the colored race came from men of little education and standing.

The cause gained ground slowly, and recruits came to it from among men of prominence, like Wendell Phillips, Ellis Gray Loring, and Charles Sumner. Men of letters like Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Russell Lowell and John Greenleaf Whittier lent it the support of their pens. But the year 1851 still found the bulk of Boston respectability solidly arrayed against the "fanaticism" which proposed to disregard the fundamental fact of private property in the interests of an impracticable ideal.

The attitude of this element toward the fugitives slave law is summed up by its chief constitutional authority, Benjamin R. Curtis. The real difficulty, he thought, arose from the fact that

two communities with conflicting institutions, must perforce live side by side on the same continent. "You may break up the Constitution," says he, "and the Union tomorrow; you may do it by a civil war or by, what I could never understand, the method or the principles of — what is called a peaceable secession; you may do it in any conceivable or inconceivable way; you may draw the geographical line between slave-holding and non-slave-holding *anywhere*; but when we shall have settled down, they will have their institutions and we shall have ours. One is as much a fact as the other. One engages the interests and feelings and passions of men as much as the other. . . .

"If any one in this age expects to live in peace, side by side with the slaveholding States, without some effectual stipulation as to the restoration of fugitives, he must either be so wise as to foresee events in no wise connected with human experience, or so foolish as to reject experience and probabilities as guides of action."

The law which Mr. Curtis and his party accepted so calmly, stirred up much feeling in other quarters, however. Two escaped slaves, William and Ellen Craft, who had for some time been living peaceably in Boston, had been rescued by a vigilance committee, from an attempted capture. A third negro, Shadrach, by name, was carried off through the open door of the Court House by a crowd of men of his own race.

"In truth," says Henry Greenleaf Pearson in his article on preliminaries of the Civil War in the *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts*, "the Fugitive Slave Law had brought the slave question before the Northerner in a new light. He was forced to ask himself whether he would give aid in returning a runaway to his owner. Would he betray a hiding place? Would he refuse help to a fugitive when the pursuers were close upon him? To put the case in general terms, was he bound to render obedience to what he regarded as an unjust law? The problem thus became the question of the hour — a personal question, which no one could ignore."

The next test of popular feeling on the subject occurred in April, 1851, when one Thomas Simms was seized in a hotel where he was a waiter. Some of Mayor Bigelow's official correspondence on the subject, in the possession of the Society, shows that the answers of the citizens of Boston to this personal question gave the authorities some anxiety. Mayor Bigelow writes to Colonel Holbrook of the Militia that "whereas it has been made to appear to



A CIVIL WAR-TIME CARTOON ON EMANCIPATION

me, John P. Bigelow, Mayor of the City of Boston, that there is threatened a tumult, riot, and mob of a body of men acting together by force, with intent to rescue by force and violence a prisoner, now in lawful custody of the authorities of the United States, and by such tumult, riot and forcible assembly to endanger both persons and property, and otherwise to break and resist the laws of the United States . . . and that Military Force is necessary to aid the civil authority in suppressing the same.

"Now therefore, I command you that you cause one or more companies of your Regiment armed and equipped with ammunition, as the law directs, and with proper officers either attached to the troops or detailed by you to parade at said Boston on this and every subsequent day and night until further orders from me at Faneuil Hall."

The *Advertiser*, sound and conservative in its views, takes comfort in the Mayor's action, although it does not admit to any fear that the populace will become disorderly on so unreasonable a pretext. On April 4, it announces the arrest on the previous day of Simms, claimed as a fugitive from "service and labor" by James Potter, of Chatham, Georgia.

"The arrest was made without any great difficulty," runs the notice. And the fugitive was conveyed to a place of safety for the night, and no unusual excitement appeared to prevail on account of the matter.

"About 11 o'clock Mr. Samuel E. Sewall went upon the steps of the Court House, apparently in a very excited frame of mind, and created so much disturbance as to induce an officer to arrest him and take him to the watch house. After remaining there about half an hour he became comparatively calm and was discharged."

The next day, to prevent a repetition of the Shadrach affair, a chain was placed breast-high around the Court House, reinforced by a strong police guard. The trial was begun, with Messrs. Charles G. Loring, Robert Rantoul and Samuel E. Sewall, all prominent men who had thrown in their lot with the abolitionists, for the defendant, and Mr. Seth J. Thomas appearing for the claimant. The lawyers for the defense requested a postponement of the hearing several times, and in the next few days the threatened excitement did not seem to materialize, much to the satisfaction of the *Advertiser*.

The prisoner is described as "quite an intelligent looking dark

mulatto, apparently about 25 years of age, and has been in this city only about 4 weeks, and since his arrival has been boarding at a colored seaman's boarding house, kept by one Aiken, at 153 Ann Street."

A meeting of protest was called on the Common, as the State House yard was closed to it, and the following placard was put up to invite the public notice:

"Public Meeting — *Kidnappers in Boston* — Men of Boston, one of your fellow citizens was last night seized by slave hunters. He is in most imminent deadly peril. The citizens of Boston and its neighborhood are earnestly invited to assemble without arms in front of the State House at four this (Friday) afternoon, to consult for the public good."

The meeting was small, though the speeches of the devoted few were fiery. It soon adjourned to Tremont Temple, which it filled to about one third of its capacity. The *Advertiser's* approving comment is:

"The eloquence of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Colver on the Common, and their successors in the Temple, did not succeed in getting up much enthusiasm against the quiet and ordinary administration of the laws."

An interesting incident occurred in the course of the meeting, when someone called for "three groans for Daniel Webster," and the call was responded to by three cheers instead.

On April 7 the crowd around the scene of the trial was still sparse. Two or three colored men, to be sure, "let their feelings get the mastery over their good judgement, and indulged in language to the policeman on duty, which rendered it necessary to take them into custody, which was quietly done." Colver, Parker, Phillips and others who had counselled a mass meeting, says the reporter, were seen in and about the Court House, but the masses who were to be there were absent.

The next letter of the group is written on May 7, from the City Solicitor, Peleg W. Chandler, in answer to a request for advice from the Mayor. While stating that it is the duty of the municipal officers "to keep the peace, at all hazards and at whatever cost," he says he does not believe "a forcible conflict between the officers of the United States, and the Sheriff of this county and his officers, to be probable or even possible." In the event of such a conflict, he is at a loss to prescribe the precise action for the city authorities.

"But it is clear," says he, "that the law of the United States on this subject is paramount. It is equally clear, that the city Marshal cannot be expected to discriminate between conflicting jurisdictions, and in my opinion he will be justified in protecting the officers of the United States while in the exercise of their duties under the act of Congress, from all assaults by whomsoever made."

From the cheerful language of the newspaper, one would not gather that the county officials were expected to be refractory, but apparently the Mayor had some such fear. For the next few days events went forward quietly enough. The prisoner's counsel had the hearing postponed twice. Their arguments were largely an objection to the constitutionality of the law, which was finally overruled by Commissioner Curtis.

Meanwhile, on the 8th, the crowd increased, with a larger proportion of colored people appearing. The witnesses from Georgia were followed home by a crowd of men and boys. Almost at the witnesses' lodgings, a negro tried to hit one of them with a club, and was immediately seized and locked up. One more incident is noted by the paper, which reflects a much debated feature of the abolition movement, the participation of women in public meetings. Garrison's espousal of the cause of equal rights for women alienated from him many who would have joined with him wholeheartedly had he confined himself to emancipation. The Rhode Island Congregational Association refused to receive a memorial from an abolitionist convention in Boston on the ground that it came from an "unscripturally women-ruled convention." The *Advertiser* heads its item "A Melancholy Exhibition of Fanaticism," and continues:

"Three middle-aged females made themselves quite conspicuous about noon today, by promenading about the Court House among a crowd of loungers and giving utterance to a torrent of abuse against the officers on duty. They were dressed like ladies, and their general appearance indicated that they had been favored with advantages which they were abusing. One of their number inquired of one of the officers, what pay he got for standing guard? Upon being told that he expected to get all that was promised him, besides having the satisfaction of knowing that he had faithfully performed his duty; she said, 'I'll give you a better offer.' The officer, however, declined listening to her proposals. The women walked on and held a parley with one or two other officers, but did not succeed in winning one of them from his duty. When politely



asked for their names and addresses, the females refused to give them."

On April 12, the decision was given. Colonel Holbrook's letter hints that the authorities were still apprehensive. He writes: "The U. S. Marshal has signified to me his intention of removing immediately the Fugitive Slave from the Court House and if you want the troops under arms at Faneuil Hall ordered out for his assistance or to preserve the peace of the city they are ready for such duty on receipt of your precept to that effect."

No violence was attempted, however, and Simms was marched quietly to the boat which was to take him away with an armed escort of one hundred or more city police. An indignation meeting was held at Tremont Temple, "where Messrs. Pillsbury, Phillips and others, interrupted by Abby Folsom and others — abused the Boston press and the Boston pulpit to their hearts' content.

"We believe that now all the 'law's delay' has been gone through with," the *Advertiser* says in conclusion, "and that Messrs. Sumner, Dana, Rantoul, Sewall, Wendell Phillips and Miss Abby Folsom will now retire from the field. They none of them believe in an open appeal to physical force in their own persons."

Thus it would seem that law and order were masters of the field in Boston at the time of the Simms case. In the next three years, anti-slavery feeling made such headway that Anthony Burns, the last fugitive slave to leave Boston, was taken amid a storm of popular indignation, and at the cost of \$40,000 and the life of one officer.

## Handling coal at Hoboken in the '80's

A *Scientific American* of 1882 contains an article, with several illustrations, describing the gravity coal piers of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, at Hoboken, New Jersey. The enormous traffic in coal carried on at this port, says this author, requires broad, cheap and rapid methods of handling large quantities at once.

"A typical illustration of the means which have been devised," he continues, "for meeting the larger necessities of this great traffic may be found in the docks and piers of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Co. . . . A fair idea of the extent of these appliances for the delivery of coal may be obtained from an

inspection of the larger illustrations herewith. The method of handling the coal, or, to speak more exactly, of delivering it without handling it, will need perhaps a more extended description. . . .

"The grade of all the tracks carrying loaded cars descends slightly toward the river, so that the long trains are, as it were, eagerly pushing riverward for deliverance, urged by their own gravity. At the further end of the line car after car is seen to leave the press and (still without visible means of propulsion) to climb the steep grade to the top of the elevated pier and then roll forward along the higher level to the point of discharge."

The cars are hauled up a steep slope, after weighing, and then released, as places at the chutes at the end of the pier become vacant, and allowed to roll down to the end, where they are arrested by an application of the brakes.

"The car has scarcely come to rest before two workmen attack the lock which holds its movable bottom in place. A sharp blow or two upon the fastening, a turn of the wrench, and halves of the car bottom fall apart like two hinged doors, and the coal drops into the screening box leading to the iron chute which projects at a low angle from the side of the pier over the open hold or the hatchway of the vessel to be filled. At the lower end of the chute a man stands holding the end of a plank which serves as a cut-off to regulate the flow of coal by arresting its motion, so that it will fall regularly, neither overshooting its mark nor entering the hold with a momentum likely to do injury to the vessel's side or bottom."

The empty car is then sent off to the starting point down a track sloping gradually from the top of the pier. All five piers together are capable of delivering two thousand car loads a day.

Information on the early growth of loading and unloading facilities at piers is scarce, but a *Treatise on the Winning and Working of Collieries*, by Matthias Dunn, written in 1852, mentions the method of dumping the cars described in the *Scientific American* as an old one. He gives preference to another system, new at the time, of lowering the wagons themselves to the deck of the ship by means of counterbalance weights, to avoid breakage of the coal. He makes no mention of gravity yards.

The same method of discharging the coal, through the floor of the wagon into a spout, or shoot, into the hatchway of the vessel, with some modifications, is still in use at the coaling depots on the banks of the Tyne and Wear, and the principle of the old gravity yards at Hoboken is in wide use today.



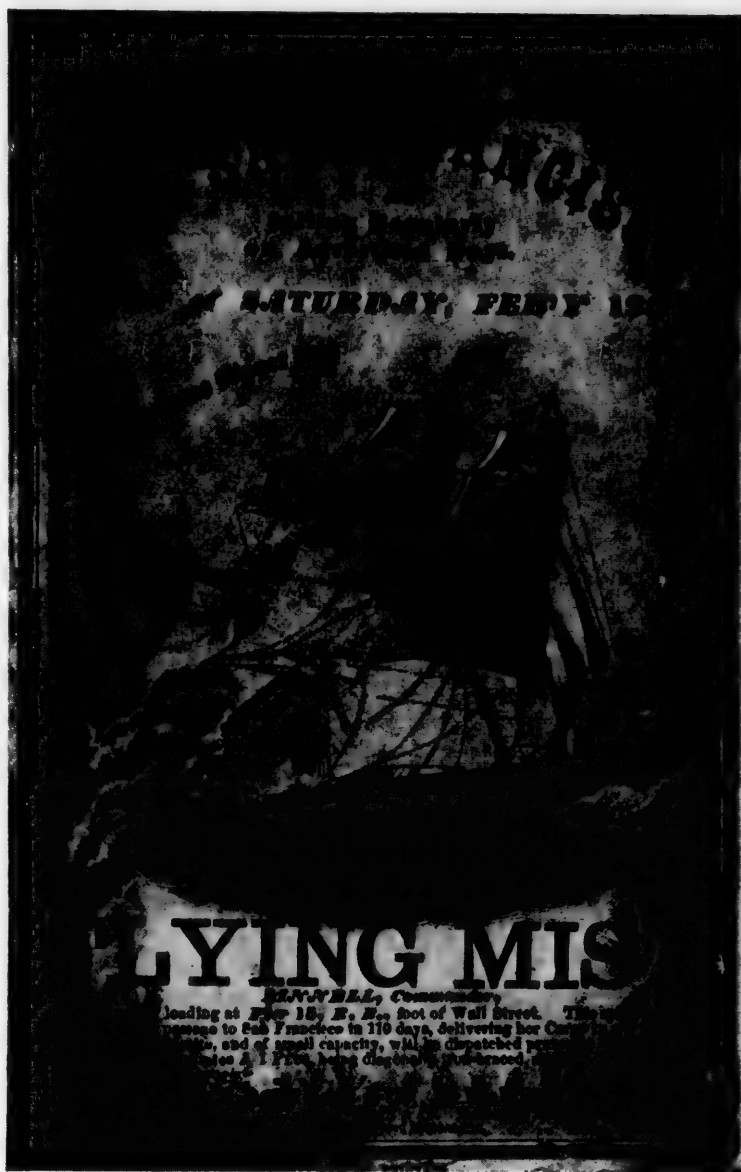
GRAVITY COAL YARDS OF THE DELAWARE, LACKAWANNA AND WESTERN RAILROAD IN 1882

## Racing around Cape Horn with the California Clippers

"IMAGINE a Yankee Rip van Winkle," says Samuel Eliot Morison in his *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, "who had slept out his twenty years within hailing distance of the State House dome. As he looked about him in 1853 the most astonishing sight would be —, not the railroad; not the telegraph, not the steamship — but the clipper ship. During the last half of his sleep there had taken place the greatest revolution in naval architecture since the days of Hawkins and Drake. Below in Boston Harbor, and setting sail for a port whose name he had never heard, were vessels four and five times as large as any he had ever seen, with canvas five and six times the utmost area that the old Boston East-Indiamen dared spread to the lightest air."

Full as it is of the dramatic and the picturesque, there is no period in the history of American commerce that stirs the imagination like the brief, magnificent episode of the clipper ship. Called into being by the California gold rush of '49, the clippers sailed the seas in their full glory for only a few years, and vanished with the Civil War.

The report of gold had sent companies of men from the east around the Horn to California in every decrepit old tub that could be chartered and worked. The report of another kind of gold mine in California sent eastern merchants racing after them, and crying out for more speed. The second kind of mine was a population that had gold in ever increasing abundance, and neither the time nor the inclination to provide themselves with the simplest commodities. The story of Dr. Merritt of Plymouth, as told by Mr. Morison, is typical. After making forty thousand dollars in one year at San Francisco by his medical practice, Dr. Merritt chartered a Maine brig to load ice at Puget Sound and bring it to San Francisco in time for summer. Discovering that Puget Sound was not Maine, the captain came back with a load of piles. As piles were much wanted for wharves just then, the venture proved profitable, as did also a second. Others followed Dr. Merritt's example, so he left piles to the later comers, and sent Puget Sound timber to Australia to exchange for coal. Again the captain used his own judgment, re-



AN ADVERTISEMENT OF THE '50's, ANNOUNCING THE SAILING OF A CALIFORNIA CLIPPER SHIP

turned with a cargo of oranges from the Society Islands, and made another killing. Dr. Merritt then closed his office, purchased a large tract of land across the Bay, created the city of Oakland, and in due course became a multi-millionaire, mayor of the city, and owner of the finest yacht on the coast.

With such prospects waiting for the enterprising merchant; with beef, pork and flour at \$40 to \$60 a barrel; tea, coffee and sugar at \$4 a pound; spirits at \$10 to \$40 a quart; and boots at \$45 a pair, eastern merchants saw a surer road to fortune than did the men at the mines.

"For centuries," says Mr. Morison, "shipbuilders had maintained that you could have either speed or burden, not both; but New York and Boston wanted both, and they got it."

The great clippers of Donald McKay and other builders were the result. The largest of them, the *Great Republic*, registered 4556 tons, but with their "long, fine ends, cross section like a flattened V, and the concave lines of the bow above the water line," these great ships, "laden down as they were with heavy cargoes, moved faster through the water than any sailing yacht or fancy racing machine . . . of today."

Mr. Morison describes the bewildering list of attractions in the shipping columns of the Boston *Daily Advertiser* in the early '50's, when a passenger might make his choice between the "first-class clipper ships" *Belle of the West* and *Bonita*, the "magnificent first-class clipper ship *White Swallow*, the New and beautiful half clipper ship *West Wind*," and the "first-class and well-known packet-ship *Western Star*." A scrap-book of advertisements of the time, belonging to the Society, brings up a picture of the days when Donald McKay's *Flying Fish* and *Great Republic*, instead of coal barges and tugs, rode at the piers along the East River, while his "magnificent, first class, extreme clipper ship" *Romance of the Seas* took on her California-bound cargo at Commercial Wharf in Boston. "This famous ship," adds the notice, "was built by Donald McKay, Esq.; was intended to be, and doubtless is, the fastest ship in the World."

The advertisements, their reds and blues and yellows faded, flaunt one a ship dancing over neatly scalloped waves, with all canvas spread, another a tropical scene, a third a soldier on a curvetting horse. The last picture symbolizes that "saucy, wild packet" the *Dreadnought*. *La Favorita*, of the merchants' Express Line of



Clipper Ships for San Francisco, "now rapidly loading at Pier 10, East River," is represented by a demure lady in a red crinolined dress apparently singing from a piece of sheet music to a stiffly enraptured sailor.

The figures, "110 days to San Francisco!" "96 days to San Francisco!" appear triumphantly at the head of some of the posters. 110 days was an amazingly good record. Only twenty-two passages from an Atlantic Port around Cape Horn in less than one hundred days are on record. Of these, seven were by ships built by the great artist in naval architecture, Donald McKay. His *Flying Fish*, with two of these record voyages over the "longest race course in the world" to her credit, is announced as "so well known that we only need to suggest the necessity of Shippers getting their goods on board early to avoid their being shut out." The owners of the *Live Oak* are less arrogant: "This magnificent Clipper is built all of Live Oak, and is the *best ship* now loading. Shippers will please examine this vessel, and send their goods immediately alongside."

The Civil War merely hastened the inevitable substitution of steam for sail. In concluding his *Maritime History*, Mr. Morison says of the clipper ship:

"Never, in these United States, has the brain of man fashioned so perfect a thing as the clipper ship. In her, the long-suppressed artistic impulse of a practical, hard-worked race burst into flower. The *Flying Cloud* was our Rheims, the *Sovereign of the Seas* our Parthenon, the *Lightning* our Amiens; but they were monuments carved from snow. For a brief moment of time they flashed their splendor around the world, then disappeared with the sudden completeness of the wild pigeon."

### In Memoriam

THE Society has again lost one of its most valued members, in Mr. Edward F. Albee, who was, until last October, president of the Keith-Albee vaudeville organization. Born at Machias, Maine, and descended from one of the original Minute Men, Mr. Albee startled his staid New England family by joining a circus. From this wagon show he went to P. T. Barnum, and was with such enterprises until he was twenty-eight.

In 1883 he and Benjamin F. Keith began their long connection,

with a modest show in a store close to the old Adams House in Boston. Their interests were soon extended to other cities in New England, and the foundation was gradually laid for the chain of vaudeville theatres that stretches from coast to coast.

"Under Mr. Keith's and Mr. Albee's direction," says the *Boston Globe*, "the business of the Keith circuit grew rapidly, variety gave way to the more polite form of entertainment called vaudeville and then joined hands with the motion pictures. Such stars as Fred Stone, Al Jolson and George M. Cohan rose from the three-a-day to Broadway, and million-dollar temples to the art of entertainment arose.

"When the elder Keith died Albee shared control of the circuit with Paul Keith, and at the latter's death became its head. The name was changed to the Keith-Albee circuit and its houses extended from Boston to Chicago. In 1928 he acquired the Orpheum circuit, which covered the territory between Chicago and the West Coast, and formed the Keith-Albee-Orpheum circuit to play from Maine to California.

"In November, 1929, on formation of the Radio-Keith-Orpheum, he relinquished control and was succeeded as president by Hiram S. Brown."

The Business Historical Society, of which he was a member, deeply regrets losing his name from its rolls.

## Secretary's Column

The Society appreciates the coöperation of its members and friends in securing for its archives many acquisitions of historical and current interest. The following additions have been received since the March publication of the Society Bulletin:

From Francis R. Hart, Vice-Chairman, Old Colony Trust Company, Boston, a photostat copy of "Proposition respecting the Coinage of Gold, Silver and Copper," 1785.

From Edgar Higgins, New York, a file of photostat copies, clippings, papers and correspondence dealing with the development of Investment Trusts from their inception.

From Richard W. Hale, Boston, a file of correspondence, statistical material, charts and other data connected with the litigation between the New England Oil Refining Company, the Ballard Oil Company, and the estate of the late Warwick Greene.

From George S. Godard, Librarian, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, a case of miscellaneous state documents and other data.

From Edward H. Redstone, Librarian, Massachusetts State Library, Boston, Portions of the City Record, supplementing files already received.

From A. L. Mills, Jr., Portland, Oregon, a general ledger and other records of the firm of Allen and Lewis, 1862-1865.

From Charles F. Ayer, estate of Frederick Ayer, Boston, a large collection of annual reports and other information relating to many companies.

From an officer of the Society:

The Los Angeles Bubble, G. W. Finney; People of Wall Street, William Floyd; Handbook of American Prisons and Reformatories, P. W. Garrett and A. H. McCormick; Economics of Retailing, 2 vols., P. H. Nydstrom; The Clipper Ship "Sheila," W. H. Angel; Notes on Ships of the Past, 1885, R. B. Forbes; Notes on Navigation, 1884, R. B. Forbes; Buying an Honest House, M. Tucker; The Pirates of the New England Coast, 1630-1730, George F. Dow and John H. Edwards; The Frigate "Constitution" and other historic ships, F. Alexander Magoun; Account Book of dealings with various whalers of Ebenezer Peirce of Assonet; Two ships logs; Two affidavits concerning happenings on the ship "Julia F. Carney," 1879; Books, pamphlets, miscellaneous manuscripts and other historical data.

From William Alcott, Librarian, Boston Globe, Record of American Shipping (Lloyd's Register) for years, 1912 to 1914, inc., 1917 to 1919, inc., 1923, 1924, 1926 to 1928, inclusive.

From Hamburgisches Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv, Hamburg, five bundles of books on economic, commercial, financial and industrial conditions.

From Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company, Newark, N. J., books on sales management, system and methods.

From G. H. Borssette, Estate of R. M. Smythe, New York, Valuable Extinct Securities, R. M. Smythe.

From Miss Mary Corliss, Providence, R. I., Life and Work of George H. Corliss.

From J. M. Davis, President, Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, Gravity Coal Piers of the D. L. and W. Railroad.

From Dr. O. T. Howe, Boston, Record Book of Octavius Howe and Autobiography of Captain Zachary G. Lamson, 1797 to 1814.

From Hungarian Commercial Bank, Budapest, Hungary, Reports of bank filling existing vacancies in our file.

From Professor Alberto Bertolino, University of Siena, Italy, eight monographs.

From Erle Heath, Editor, Southern Pacific Railway Bulletin, San Francisco, California, file of Bulletins giving history of the Southern Pacific Railway Company.

- From Spencer J. Steinmetz, Brookline, Mass., a collection of trade letters, 1833 to 1838.
- From Deutsche Luft-Hansa, A. G., Berlin, Germany, file of publications relating to air craft development.
- From H. Lawrence Groves, Commercial Attache, Berlin, Germany, Dissertations on the traffic problem of Berlin and other material.
- From Wydział Historyczno-Naukowy, Warsaw, Poland, a collection of Polish Trade Publications.
- From Miss Cornelia Duren, Los Angeles, California, Account book and old tax bills, 1824-1858.
- From Paul Shoup, President, Southern Pacific Railway Company, San Francisco, California, Transportation Development on the Pacific Coast.
- From James Hazen Hyde, Paris, France, Correspondence of Henry B. Hyde, President and Founder of the Equitable Life Assurance Society of New York, to be held under seal for a term of years and protected by a formal deed of gift.
- From Mrs. William Hooper, Manchester, Mass., Autographed Steel engraving of Charles E. Perkins, Founder and President of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company.
- From J. S. Keefe, President, American Steel and Wire Company, Chicago, an outline history of the units of the Company at Worcester, Mass.

#### MEMBERSHIP

The following names have been enrolled since the last issue of the Bulletin:

##### GENERAL MEMBERS

- Charles E. Perkins, Santa Barbara, California.
- Charles William Taussig, President, American Molasses Company of New York, New York City.

##### AFFILIATED MEMBERS

- Dr. Henry E. Bourne, Managing Editor, American Historical Review, Washington, D. C.
- Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California,
- Leslie E. Bliss, Librarian.
- Dr. O. T. Howe, Boston.

# BULLETIN *of The* BUSINESS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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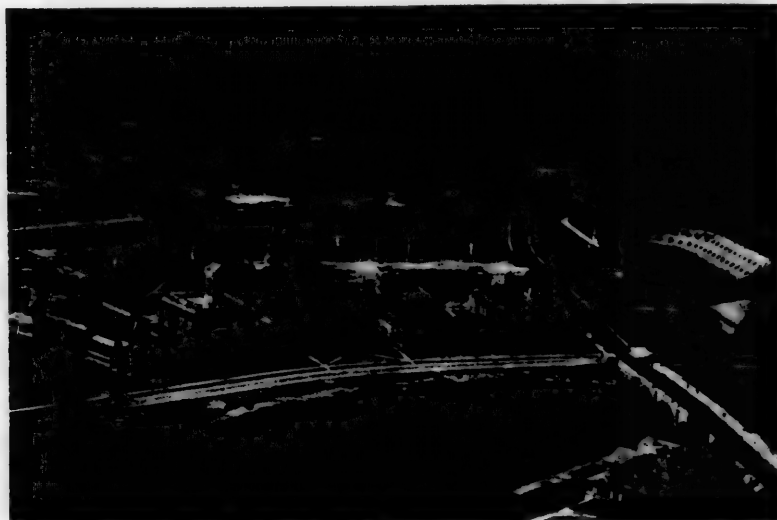
*Whole Number 26*

## Looking Backward

THIS month is in a sense an anniversary season for The Business Historical Society, for although it was founded in October, 1925, it was not until the following June that it became an active organization. The field which the Society entered four years ago was almost unknown, and since that time its work in collecting and organizing material, and in enlisting the interest of the community has already given business history a definite place among subjects for scholarly study and research.

In the gathering of material it has been remarkably successful. Among the valuable collections which belong to the Society, or are accessible to its members through its arrangement with the Baker Library are important records connected with finance in all of its departments; transportation, including the statistical series reports, and developments of the subject from the days of stage coaches, canals and sailing vessels to those of the present day railroad and trans-oceanic steamship service; industrials relating to early achievements in iron, steel and copper, wool and cotton, and kindred products, besides much foreign material necessary to a full understanding of domestic business problems.

Some idea of the variety of interests represented in the membership may be formed by glancing at only the first page of the list of members in the descriptive booklet, which includes but sixteen names. On that page appear the names of representatives from national and investment banking organizations, public utilities, steel, copper, cotton, and rubber industries, a department store, the legal profession, besides those of executives in important government departments. In the affiliated list are members from most of



AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF THE HARVARD BUSINESS SCHOOL BUILDINGS TAKEN AT THE DEDICATION, JUNE 1926. THE BAKER LIBRARY, HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE SOCIETY, IS IN THE CENTER OF THE GROUP

the leading American universities, and in addition, from those of Heidelberg, Strasbourg, Rome, Hamburg, and Munich, and a number of other prominent foreign universities.

The activities of the Society have included the publishing of two books, *The Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of Alexander Hamilton*, and the *Journal of John James Audubon, 1840-1843*, and it is collaborating with the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration in the quarterly publication of a *Journal of Economic and Business History*.

The generosity of its friends and the systematic work of its officers are steadily filling out and adding to the already fine collection of the Society. The coöperation of certain railroads, to which the Society sent check-lists of material, in supplying documents which were lacking, furnishes an example of the attitude in business circles toward this undertaking. With the interest and sympathy of the public added to the enthusiasm of those who have the direction of its activities, we may be sure that what the Society has already done is only a beginning of the work it may hope to accomplish.

## Manila as the Spanish Gateway to the East

"MANILA lies between the richest countries in the East and West Indies. One can find here the silver of Peru and New Spain, diamonds from Golconda, topaz, sapphires and cinnamon from Ceylon, pepper from Java, cloves and nutmeg from Molucca, rubies and camphor from Borneo, pearls and costly carpets from Persia, benzoin, rubber and ivories from Camboja, musk from Lequios, silks and cotton goods from Bengal, porcelain and fabrics and other luxuries from China." So runs an eighteenth-century description of the wealth carried by the yearly treasure ship which sailed between Acapulco, in Mexico, and Manila. It is a small pamphlet in German, belonging to the Society, by one J. C. S., detailing the manner of this traffic and the "condition of these two cities, to satisfy a long felt desire on the part of curious persons who concern themselves over the history of foreign parts." It describes a trade which carried the glamour and hazardousness of sixteenth-century commerce into the rational age of the American and French Revolutions.

At a time when colonies were regulated rather for the benefit of the mother country than for their own, Spain carried the principle to extremes. Both foreign products and foreigners were excluded from her dependencies. Access to the great empire of Mexico, including what is now Texas, New Mexico, California, and Guatemala, as well as its present territory, was to be had by only two ports. Every three or four years a number of vessels, called "The Fleet" sailed from Cadiz for Vera Cruz, bearing merchandise which had been sold in advance to six or eight Mexican firms, and which was distributed through a fair at Xalpa. On the Pacific side, the trade of the Orient came in at Acapulco through Manila, by a single ship called the "galleon." This ship was the sole means of communication with the East until Spain lost possession of Mexico, in the second decade of the nineteenth century.

The occasion for writing the account of the Manila trade seems to have been an impending war between England and Spain, into which Spain allowed herself to be drawn in behalf of France, in 1762.

"Those who are acquainted with the nature of this trade," says the Foreword, "will perceive in advance that the ship from Manila



is the principal cause that makes enemy ships of all those crossing the path of the Spaniards in these waters, for on account of the great wealth of the ship, it acts as a stimulant to those eager for an exploit after booty."

After telling of the voyage of Magellan, and the occupation of the Philippines by the Spaniards, the German chronicler describes the Island of Luzon, and more particularly the city of Manila.

"The bay which lies on the western side of Manila is," says he "next to the harbor, probably the most wonderful on the whole earth. Besides its great circumference, it is everywhere deep enough, full of fish, and covered along the shore with villages and many large trees."

Manila itself has five gates, the Dominican, Parian, Lucian and Royal Gates, to which a so-called Postern Gate is added. There follows a description of the rondels, "metal pieces," and bastions of the city walls. The city is bounded on the south by the sea, and on the north and east by the river, across which drawbridges allow access to the Royal and Parian Gates. The Castle of St. Jacob is very well defended, being situated on a triangle at the easternmost point of the city, and surrounded by the sea, the river and a deep moat, with a drawbridge.

"The houses of the city from the lowest story to the summit are made of frame-work. Notwithstanding this, their pretty galleries have a graceful comeliness. The streets are wide, but on account of the earthquakes many houses were wrecked and no one showed great eagerness to rebuild them. For this reason they are made chiefly of wood."

Next comes a long list of convents, monasteries, chapels and churches: the Royal chapel which stands before the castle is decorated with much gilt; the Archbishop's church is very large but badly decorated.

Several suburbs along the river front are inhabited by Indians, Togales, and other native races, and are built on piles, and entered by means of ladders. The Parian, however, is the principal suburb, commercially speaking, at least, and lies 100 steps from the Parian gate. Its inhabitants are the Sangleys, or Chinese.

"This suburb has numerous narrow streets which are lined on both sides with shops filled with silks, beautiful porcelains and other wares. Here one finds every kind of artisan and craftsman one could want. The Spaniards are too haughty either to buy or sell, so their entire means of living is in the hands of the Sangleys,



THE CAPTURE OF THE MANILA GALLEON BY THE BRITISH SHIP CENTURION

who relieve them of all monies over any profits. The Parians number over 3,000 without counting those who live here and there on the island and who are equal in number to the others."

The historian then refers to the restriction of Chinese immigration on account of the Spanish fear of uprisings. The Spaniards had always regarded the Chinese with mistrust, and feeling was brought to a crisis in 1603 by the arrival of three mandarins, sent by their emperor to investigate a story to the effect that there was a mountain in Cavite of solid precious metal. This tale was no more incredible than many which had led the Spaniards themselves to various parts of the earth, and was undoubtedly founded on the fact that Chinese wares were paid for largely by Mexican bullion. But the Spaniards believed that it was got up to cover plans for an invasion.

Whether the Chinese of the Parian were plotting sedition, or whether the behavior of the Spaniards drove them to make an attack is not known. But on the evening of St. Francis day they rose, and slaughtered many Filipinos. The next morning they nearly annihilated a force of 130 Spaniards who were sent against them, and then attacked the city. The tradition of the priests has it that they were driven back in terror by the apparition of St. Francis on the walls. At all events they were driven back, and eventually dispersed by the Spaniards with the loss of thousands of their number.

This outbreak caused an even more strict supervision than before. The number allowed to live in the islands was limited. Ships coming from China were compelled to take back with them all who were on board. This rule was badly followed, according to J. C. S., and 40 or 50 Chinamen came to Manila every year. Those who already lived there might never spend a night in a Christian house, on penalty of their lives; must keep a light burning all night in their shops; and were not allowed to go two leagues from the city without a written license.

A Spanish historian gives the derivation of the word "Sangleys" as being from a corruption of the words whereby the first Chinese who came to the islands announced their purpose in coming: "Xang Lei," meaning "We come to trade." Continuing with his description J. C. S. says, "These same Sangleys, who live in the Parian district, are governed by an Alcade or governor to whom they pay a substantial sum. They are as generous to the fiscal agent as to their own protector, as well as to the intendent and other officials,

without mentioning the impost and tax that they send to the king. They pay the king for permission to play their New Year game alone 10,000 pieces of eight. This game is called La Metua, and is even and odd. They place little coins on a pile; he who guesses the number gets the money. The players are so trained that they know by the length and height of the pile just how to count the coins. They remove unnoticed a piece and the number that they have computed is there. The permission to play this is for only a few days, so that they may not gamble other people's property away."

The harbor of Cavite is very safe and well defended, and it is there that the ships used in the trade with Acapulco lie. Here can be seen 200 to 300 Indians, and at times 600, who are needed by the Spanish to equip their men-of-war and galleons. The wood on this island is not only very hard and heavy but the boards are made so thick and are so filled that the Spaniards declare no cannon ball can penetrate them.

The income of the king from taxing the Indians comes to about 400,000 pieces of eight. This is not sufficient to pay for the quartering of the 4,000 soldiers on the islands, and the heavy salaries of the officials, and 250,000 pieces of eight have to be imported from New Spain (Mexico), to cover expenses.

Then we come to the trade, and the chronicler lists the wares, — spices, rubies, ivory, camphor, silks, and the like, coming from the various countries. China sends not less than 50,000 pair of silk stockings a year by the ship. Manila itself furnishes goldsmiths' work which is much in demand in America.

The ships used are given by the King of Spain, who also pays the officers and crew. The tonnage of the ship is divided into shares, and distributed among the various convents, mostly of the Jesuit order, for the support of their missions, and the propagation of the faith. These shares are often sold to merchants, who then have the right to embark a certain number of bales of goods. If the merchants lack capital, the convents advance them the money. Notwithstanding a royal decree limiting the value of the cargo to 600,000 dollars, it is estimated that its actual value must be at least 3,000,000. Indeed, Valencia and other Spanish towns are complaining that their own finished silk goods are being sold at a great disadvantage, and Cadiz linens have to go for a very low price, for cottons from the coast of Coromandel are leaving European linens without a market.

The Acapulco ship usually sets sail from Manila about July, and arrives in December, January or February. Having sold its cargo, it leaves Acapulco in March, and returns to Manila in June, the trip thus consuming almost a year. Although ordinarily only one ship is used, another is always held in readiness to go to sea when the first one arrives. There are to be found at Manila three or four large ships, so that in case of accident the trade will not be interrupted.

"The largest of these ships is described as only a little smaller than a first rate English man-of-war, and it must in fact be of enormous size, because it is known that when it was sent out of the harbor with the other ships to compete with the English for Chinese trade, it had not less than 1,200 men on board. Although their other ships bear no comparison in bulk with this one, they are stout, of 1,200 tons or over, and carry from 350 to 600 men, including passengers, and also some 50 cannon. As all these ships are king's ships, commissioned and paid by him, the leader carries the great standard of Spain on the main topgallant masthead, or on some other mast pole."

The galleon, then, catches the westerly monsoon, threading the maze of islands with great difficulty, and with the bad seamanship of the Spaniards, she is often till the end of August in gaining the open sea. She then goes east-northeast to reach 30 degrees of latitude, where she waits for the west winds with which she will sail for the coast of California. According to the unanimous verdict of all the Spanish sailors, there is not a harbor, nor even a roadstead, between the Philippines and the California coast, so the Manila ship cannot drop anchor after she loses sight of land until she reaches America. Wherefore, as this voyage seldom takes less than six months "and as the ship is heavily laden and crowded with people it is wonderful how it can store fresh water for such a long voyage.

"Those who are acquainted with the customs of the Spanish in the South Seas know that they preserve their water on shipboard not in casks but in earthen jugs similar to the great oil jugs often seen in Europe. When the Manila ship first puts to sea they take much more water on board than can be stored between decks, and the jugs are hung from shrouds and stays which look very unusual from a distance. It is sufficiently obvious that a store of water for 6 months, or even for 3 months, cannot have room on such a loaded ship.

"They receive more in this manner. The only source of supply, in case of a shortage of water, is the rain, which they meet between

the 30th and 40th degree north latitude, and which they are prepared to catch. For this purpose they take a great many mats which they lay, every time it rains, across the deck of the ship. They go from one end of the ship to the other, and the lowest edge rests on a large split Indian tube so that all the water falling on the mats runs into the tube, and thence into a jug. Unusual as this method of getting fresh water may seem at the first glance, no one has ever heard of its failing."

J. C. S. lays the undue length of the voyage to the indolence and inefficiency of the Spanish sailors, and the unnecessary precautions taken on account of the wealth on board the ship. It is said that the galleon never unfurls her sails at night. Indeed, the order of the voyage seems to be planned by people who "fear more a strong, although favorable wind, than the hardships of a long and unpleasant voyage. And so it happens that it is a month, sometimes six weeks after they have left the sight of land before they reach the 30th degree of latitude."

This parallel they follow to the Cape Espiritu Santo, and there the ship usually meets with a sort of floating sea-weed called by the Spaniards *Porra*, probably a species of sea-leek. At the first discovery of this plant, the whole company on shipboard breaks out into a *Te Deum*, for they believe that all the hardships and dangers of the voyage are past. At Cape St. Lucas, they put in to land, to ascertain from the Indians whether any enemies are about, and partake of such refreshments as fruits, wine, and water, which the California Jesuits have in readiness for them. The Jesuits also station guards to watch for possible enemies about the time for the arrival of the Manila ship. Having delivered letters from the convent in Manila, and ascertained that there is nothing to fear, the captain proceeds to Acapulco.

Of the city of Acapulco, the historian can say little because, except for the time when the ship from Manila is there, it is a veritable desert. When the ship arrives, however, the whole place is filled with merchants who come from all over Mexico. As soon as the cargo is landed and sold, the silver and the wares destined for Manila, the provisions and water, are brought aboard. The return cargo, aside from silver, is insignificant, consisting of cochineal, some European millinery for the women in Manila, a little preserved fruit, and some Spanish wines, similar to the English *Tent* and *Sherry*, used by the priests for the sacrament. So the small bulk of the lading leaves room to mount the guns, which have been

carried in the hold up to this time, and to have a strong guard. Many merchants also travel back with the ship, making in all about 600 people.

To this account is added a description of Lord Anson's capture of the treasure ship in 1744, an exploit which has the heroic flavor of the days of Drake. After terrific sufferings with scurvy, and storms at Cape Horn which the fleet need not have encountered had not the government delayed the expedition unnecessarily, Anson with his flagship *Centurion* alone survived a squadron of six fighting vessels and two victuallers. Determined nevertheless to do as much damage as possible to the enemy, Anson conceived the plan of attacking and taking the town of Païta. This he did, landing with fifty-eight picked men, with much cheering and beating of drums to give the impression of a large force. The inhabitants fled in all directions, without taking time to dress, the governor leaving his seventeen-year-old wife to the mercies of the invaders. Some booty was taken, and a number of prisoners, who were kindly treated, and later returned to Païta.

After further wanderings and adventures, the *Centurion* finally caught the galleon, *Nuestra Señora de Cabodonga*, as she was nearing Manila. The *Centurion* was so sparsely manned, owing to all her hardships, that the gun crews had to fly from one gun to another to work and fire them, while two men each were detailed to keep them loaded. Thirty of the best marksmen were stationed with rifles in the tops, and rendered signal service. After half an hour's fight the galleon, much larger and better armed than the *Centurion*, was taken with the loss of 67 men killed and 84 wounded, to the *Centurion's* two killed and seventeen wounded.

Of Anson's method of firing J. C. S. says: "It is common with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks when they see a broadside preparing and to continue in that posture till it is given; after which they rise again and, assuming the danger to be over for some time, work their guns and fire with great briskness until another broadside is ready. But the firing gun by gun directed by the Commodore rendered this practice of theirs impossible."

The treasure thus taken amounted to "1,313,843 pieces of eight and 35,681 ounces of virgin silver besides a quantity of cochineal and a few other wares which were of small account in comparison with the specie." The galleon was sold in Macao for 6,000 dollars, and with this spoil the indomitable remnant of the *Centurion's* crew returned to England.



## The Oldest Example of Double-Entry Bookkeeping

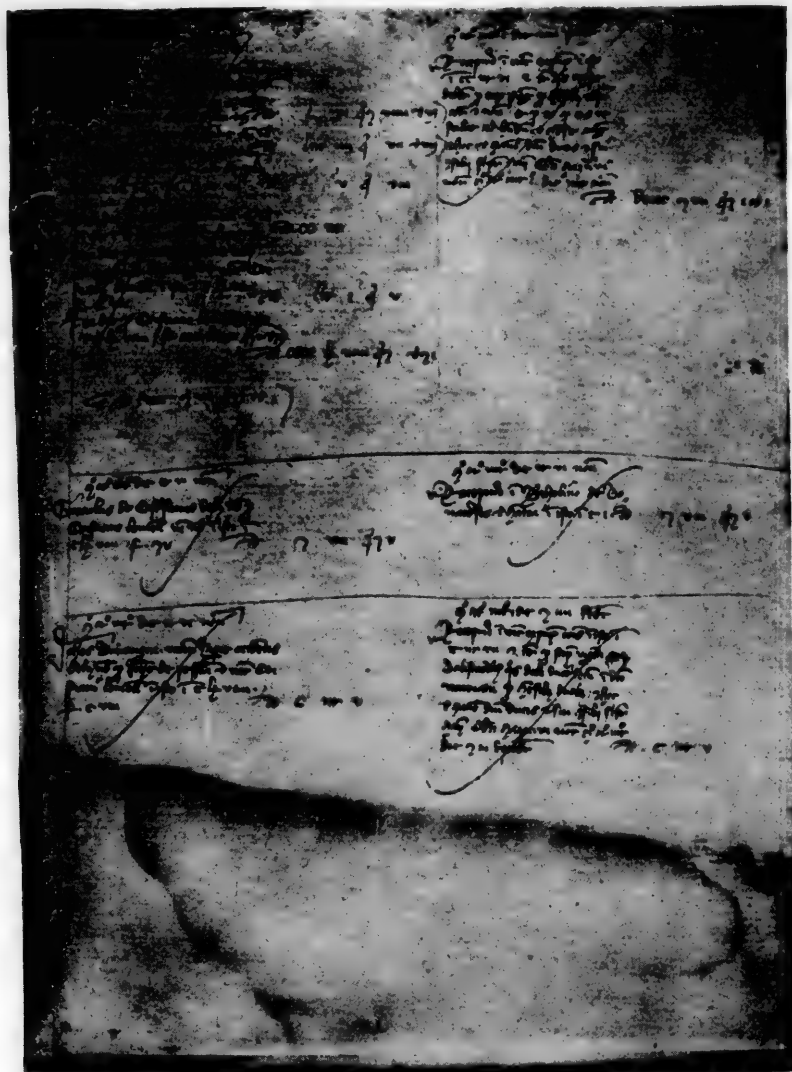
SEVERAL years ago the Business Historical Society received as a gift a copy of the oldest printed treatise on accountancy written by the Franciscan friar, Lucas Pacioli, and published in Venice in 1494. The system of bookkeeping by double entry which Pacioli described very clearly and accurately, was already in use in northern Italy more than a century and a half before the friar composed his famous treatise.

In the accounts of the Genoese communal stewards for the year 1340 a fully-developed system of double entry is found. The earlier books of the state financial officials of Genoa were burned in a fire which occurred in 1339. There is extant an account-book of the Commune for 1278 which has only single entry. Because of the loss of the volumes between 1278 and 1340 it is impossible to determine how early the double-entry system was introduced into the Genoese stewards' accounts.

The original cartulary of 1340 which is now in the Genoese archives contains 478 pages. The first pages which give the accounts of the stewards, tax-collectors, and notaries are in a poor state of preservation. The accounts of goods purchased for the Commune, of various debtors of the city, and of the men-at-arms hired by Genoa are more legible. The Business Historical Society has recently acquired photostats of four of these pages. One contains accounts for goods — pepper, silk, wax, and sugar; another records damages and losses. A third page contains accounts of various debtors, and a fourth lists expenses for soldiers.

The illustration shows a page of the accounts of the soldiers. The entries are in medieval Latin. The debits are on the left half of the page and the credits on the right half. The formula for the debit side is "debe(n)t nobis pro" (or "in"). For the credit side "Recepimus" (we have recovered) is used even if there is no previous debit.

The notations are in Roman numerals. Arabic numerals were known in Italy, but not generally used in bookkeeping even during the fifteenth century, partly because of custom, but also because the Arabic figures offered a much greater possibility for fraudulent changes in postings than did the Roman numerals. As late as 1520



PHOTOSTAT OF A PAGE FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF THE GENOESE COMMUNAL STEWARDS FOR THE YEAR 1340, SHOWING THAT DOUBLE-ENTRY BOOK-KEEPING WAS ALREADY IN USE IN THAT YEAR

the municipality of Freiburg in Germany refused to accept as legal proof of debt entries made in Arabic numerals.

The diagonal lines canceling the entries indicated that the latter had been transferred to a new ledger or had been balanced out.

The entries are crowded together because both debit and credit are on the same page. This differs from the Venetian system as described by Pacioli and as exemplified by carefully and neatly kept Venetian books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Venice the debits and credits were entered on different pages facing each other and each entry occupied one or two long lines, instead of being crowded into a narrow space as in the Genoese books.

Venice took the lead in the development of the science of bookkeeping and set the style for most of Italy and northern Europe. Indeed bookkeeping by double entry was popularly known in the sixteenth century as "bookkeeping according to the method of Venice."

But the question of the time and place of the origin of double-entry bookkeeping in Italy is raised by the fact that the oldest known example of double entry is not Venetian but Genoese — the Genoese stewards' cartulary of 1340, and that the second oldest example is a Florentine ledger of 1390, kept according to the Venetian system, which belonged to the Company of Averardo de' Medici, a money-changer. The question may never be answered because so few early accounts have survived. The oldest Venetian ones date from 1406. Since the Genoese and Venetian systems differ somewhat, they may have developed simultaneously and independently. Did the Italians inherit a Roman system or a Byzantine one, or did they really invent bookkeeping by double entry? Was double entry first used in official accounts and then adopted for business accounts, or was the reverse the case? At present the evidence is too limited to afford solutions, but further exploration in the Italian archives may result in partial or complete solutions of these and similar interesting problems connected with the early history of modern methods of accountancy.

## Research on the Medici Manuscripts

SELFRIDGE COLLECTION

IT HAS proved to be a difficult task to decipher the Medici records, particularly the account books. Three articles of agreement, various letters, and the oldest account book have been transcribed and

translated. These materials throw not a little light on the trade of Florence with the Levant. It is expected that the work already begun by Dr. Gertrude Richards will be finished during the coming academic year.

A new study has been begun by Dr. Florence Edler. This is a Glossary of Mediaeval Italian Terms of Business. For this work, the Medici records will be invaluable. Though somewhat later than the Medici records, the Barberini documents donated by Mr. Edward J. Frost promise to be of great assistance. Dr. Edler's thesis on the *Silk Trade of Lucca* is an excellent beginning for the study in question.

The new Glossary is being compiled under the auspices of the Mediaeval Academy of America and under the direction of Professor N. S. B. Gras. From Italy, Europe, and later America, got their business terms and practices. With these went Italian civilization. In the new study, business records promise to be of the greatest assistance. Already the foresight of Mr. H. Gordon Selfridge, who purchased the Medici documents in London, has been abundantly justified.

## A Glimpse of Post-War Richmond

A NORTHERN man's impression of Richmond and Petersburg, only two months after the surrender of Lee, is preserved in a letter to Frances Stabler, daughter of James P. Stabler, who was Superintendent of Construction on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in 1831 and '32. The friend who is writing begins with a eulogy on Lincoln, whose assassination is the news of the hour, and then continues with an account of a trip to Richmond which he had just made with his father and someone he refers to as "Brother Eddy," whether in the literal or the Quaker sense is not clear.

"Leaving here on the 7th day afternoon on the Ellie Knight," he writes, "we took the outside passage being 24 hours at Sea and arrived at Fortress Monro at 5 A.M. 2nd day morning witnessing a magnificent sunrise on the ocean just as we entered Hampton Rhoads.

"Our first stoppage was at Norfolk to land and see the town.

"Some of our party visited the Navy Yard (Gosport) and were taken by the commandant in a small steamer all round the Harbour to see the monitors &c. We had a good view of these and the "Alabama" captured from the Rebs. . . .

"On we went, passing in turn Turkey Bend, City Point, Dutch Gap Canal, (a one Horse Ditch) Houlett house Battery, Aiken's Landing Fort Darling and arriving about 9 A.M. Third Day "on To Richmond," the great apple for which uncle Samuel has been longing for 4 years, and a miserable wilted apple we found it to be. Having looked round, visited the capitol, written letters from the Speakers chair, visited Jeff Davis' manison (where we had a 'crack' view of Gen Halleck) we secured passage at 4 P.M. for Petersburg.

"Arriving about 6.30 we proceeded to Jarratts House where we were told not to be anxious as food and lodging were ample for all. Obtaining supper Tickets, [a necessary device in a city whose currency was largely Confederate notes, now worthless], we proceeded to the Livery Stable and secured a carriage for next morning, and after eating a very fair supper looked 'round the town which is really a very pretty place.

"Wishing some information about the place we asked two *contrabandesses*, [negresses] where to find some of the 'ancient inhabitants' of standing and learning. They at once pointed to the residence of Mr. Wallace whom they informed us was one of the 'most populous gentlemen in the town.'

"Mr Wallace was not at home but his nephew, a gentleman and a very sensible "Reb" chatted with us on the Porch for an hour or more.

"We (Father, Phillip Garrett and I) then went to the Hotel which being filled we were sent (as is their custom) to a private house to lodge. By this arrangement the Visitors are always accomodated and the people get greenbacks which they badly need as we pay 1. — each for lodging to the party lodging us."

The lady with whom they lodged discovered that the name of the letter writer was the same as her family name, and "she gave me \$165 in confederate money for curiosity as a connexion and after talking about the price of carpets &c &c in Phila. (her floors being all bare) she incidentally mentioned her passion for perfumery, especially good cologne upon which I promised to send her a bottle which I did on my return & have received a very pretty note from her husband in return."

The next visit was to the fortifications, where they saw the " 'crater' or mine, where many a Reb went up the spout" and "forts 'Hell' (ours) and 'Damnation' (Rebel, opposite) (*chaste and beautiful* appellations) both strong works, but ours far superior

in strength and durability of construction. . . . While picking up relics a gentleman of another party picked up a ferrotype of a very pretty girl remarking as he did so 'the possessor must have fought hard for her.'"

More fortifications completed the sight seeing, and the party returned home "pleased with the trip . . . and looking all the better for a little sunburn or rather tan."

## The Purchase of Monte Libretto by the Barberini

A VERY valuable collection of business papers of the Barberini and Sciarra-Colonna families of Rome was acquired by the Society last year through the generosity of Mr. Edward J. Frost of Boston. Among the documents is a huge ledger relating to the administration of Monte Libretto, a village in the Sabine Hills, which the Barberini owned for more than a century. A photograph of this volume appeared in an earlier Bulletin. The entries in the ledger are for the closing years of the eighteenth century.

Some interesting, though fragmentary, information concerning the purchase of Monte Libretto by the Barberini has been discovered in an old pamphlet sent by an Italian friend of the Society. In 1644 Taddeo Barberini arranged to purchase the estate of Monte Libretto from the Orsini family. Two experts were chosen to determine the value of the estate. At the same time a third man was appointed, whose estimate was to be accepted in case the first two appraisers did not agree. Such was the case and the third party, Pietro Vannini, was called upon. He estimated the total value of the estate at 1,160,000 scudi, on the basis of which estimate the Barberini were to pay 26,000 scudi. This was in accordance with an agreement that the purchase price should be fixed at  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent of the value of the estate including all the sources of revenue. Various interpretations might be placed upon this agreement, but it is hoped that the facts will be clear when further study is made.

Vannini's report was not based upon an itemized account of the possessions, revenues, etc. of the estate, and Maffeo Barberini, son and heir of Taddeo, the purchaser, refused to pay the amount which was due the Orsini according to Vannini's appraisal. The case was brought before the Papal Court in 1652 and had not yet

been settled in 1656. Four documents dated from 1654 to 1656 which deal with the case are published in the above-mentioned pamphlet. The court ordered Vannini to make an itemized report of all the buildings, holdings, revenues, etc. of the estate under pain of excommunication. The first threat had no effect and as late as March, 1656, he was granted one more month in which to present the desired appraisal. Further court documents are missing and hence the outcome of the suit is unknown.

The situation is an interesting one. Did Vannini make the required report and were the Barberini satisfied with the new figures? Or did the court compel Maffeo to pay against his will? Since the Barberini entered into full possession of Monte Libretto, we presume that the Orsini, the former proprietors were eventually paid. It is hoped that some volume of the Barberini Collection will reveal the conclusion to this unfinished tale of the manner in which the purchase of a large estate was made three hundred years ago.

## Advance Notice

Attention is called to a contribution by Dr. Arthur Borak of the School of Business, University of Minnesota, which will appear in the November publication of the *Journal of Economic and Business History*. It deals with the various steps taken in the reorganization of the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railway, which have occupied the attention of the public for the past ten years. The article is somewhat over thirty pages in length.

It has been suggested that many of our members may be interested in securing extra copies for distribution among their friends or for the information of their organizations.

A sufficient number of extra copies of this one article has already been ordered to justify the Society in printing it in separate pamphlet form, and if any of our members desire a quantity of these pamphlets, we shall be glad to place orders on file for them. These pamphlets will cost fifteen cents per copy and orders for them should be placed before September first in order that suitable arrangements with the publishers may be made for their production.



### **In Memoriam**

IN MARCH the Society suffered a great loss in the death of one of its founder members, Mr. Eugene Maxwell Moore. Mr. Moore was vice-president of Manning, Maxwell and Moore, a New York machinery concern. He held important posts during the war, being an officer in the Engineer Corps and also a liason officer for the American and French Armies. He received the honor of being made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor in France.

Those who have followed the progress of the Society from its inception will remember that it was from Mr. Moore's family that the nucleus of its collection came. The collection given in honor of his father, Mr. Charles A. Moore, comprising 50,000 volumes and 20,000 pamphlets, many of them of great individual value, marked the beginning of the Society's usefulness to the business and academic worlds. It is with deep regret that we note the death of a member of a family to which this organization is so deeply indebted.

THE Society has lost one of its earliest friends in Mr. William E. Nickerson, Vice-President in charge of mechanical development of the Gillette safety razor company. He was born in Provincetown, and graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was successively engaged in the tanning, cotton, mining and other industries, and was one of the founders of the Gillette Company. He was the guiding mechanical genius in his organization. His philanthropic activities included the financing of the Nickerson loan library at the Gillette plant, the establishment of a "Chair of Humanics" at his alma mater, and the presentation to Boston University of an athletic plant and recreation field. He was a trustee of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and of several banks, and a member of the executive committee of Boston University.

He took a keen interest in the affairs of the Harvard Business School and The Business Historical Society, and his inventive talent and generosity furnished the Baker Library with a most unusual gift.

At the beginning of the War, Mr. Nickerson conceived the notion of preserving the daily record of events, as reported in newspapers. He, therefore, subscribed to several daily newspapers and, as time went by, he found the usual difficulties of keeping in limited office space such large, unwieldy volumes as daily newspapers soon make.

He thereupon turned his genius to the solution of the problem in the form of a steel cabinet with many shelves and a mechanically operated lift to raise and lower the heavy volumes of newspapers to their apportioned shelf space.

On the termination of the War, Mr. Nickerson felt that the accumulation of daily newspapers should be placed in institutions where they might receive more use by students and scholars than they would in a New England factory. He, therefore, offered to several libraries, and among them The Business Historical Society and the Baker Library, as many of his unit bookshelves as were necessary to contain a long run of the New York Times and other daily journals.

Anyone familiar with technical library problems, will understand and appreciate the gratitude with which The Business Historical Society and the Baker Library received Mr. Nickerson's gift.

## Secretary's Column

### ACQUISITIONS

The acquisitions of the Society since the last report indicate the interest of our members and friends in our undertaking and a gratifying desire to assist in securing historical and current business material. The following accessions are gratefully acknowledged:

From Albert Mueller, Statistician, Moore, Leonard and Lynch, New York, A case of pamphlet and statistical material.

From Mrs. Grace C. Bevan, Librarian, Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company, Hartford, Conn., Four cartons of miscellaneous books.

From Edgar A. Clarke, Bakersville, Conn., Account book of Anthony Baker, 1837 to 1857.

From Dr. J. Stroomberg, Dept. of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, Buitenzorg, Java, A complete file of pamphlets describing the resources of Java, including statistical information on production, commercial revenue, etc.

From Charles W. Taussig, President, American Molasses Company of New York, New York City. Taussig, Charles W., *Rum, Romance and Rebellion*.

From Harold H. Clafin, Boston, Account Book of John Clafin, Milford, Mass., 1812-1868.

From Edward H. Redstone, Librarian, State Library, Boston, City Records of Boston and Boroughs of Brooklyn, Richmond, Manhattan and the Bronx.

- From Thomas W. Streeter, New York City, Records of seven cases of litigation in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania relating to early railroad companies and annual reports of the New York and Erie Railroad, 1849, and the Des Moines Navigation and Railroad Company, 1855.
- From Charles E. Tuttle, Rutland, Vermont, Material relating to the Commercial Bank of Newport, R. I., Bay of Fundy Ship-building, and Rules of the Dover Mfg. Company.
- From Edgar H. Wells and Co., New York City, Report of the Board of Trade to the Honorable the House of Lords, 1732, relating to the "Running of Wooll."
- From Bank Polski, Warsaw, Poland, Miscellaneous Polish financial and statistical reports.
- From Horatio Hathaway, Boston, Account books of Thomas S. Hathaway, New Bedford, Mass., from 1862 to 1916.
- From L. M. Harrington, Farmington, Minn., Ten bound volumes of *Telephony*.
- From an officer of the Society, Papers concerning the ship "Sierra Nevada," Log Books, tables and schedules comprising an outfit for a whaling voyage; Ashton, Wolfe H., *The Forgotten Clue*; New Bedford, Mass., Its History; Miscellaneous books on commercial and financial subjects and other material.
- From D. M. Dow, Official Secretary, Commonwealth of Australia, New York, Official Year Book, No. 22, 1929.
- From H. Lawrence Groves, Commercial Attaché, Berlin, Germany, A dissertation by Herr Curt Sandig, *The Problem of Borrowed Capital*.
- From Jeremiah Smith, Jr., Boston, Financial and economic pamphlets relating to Hungary.

#### MEMBERSHIP

The following members have been added since the last issue of the Bulletin:

##### GENERAL MEMBERSHIP

- Clarence M. Woolley, President, American Radiator Company of New York.
- Henry W. Marsh, Marsh and McLennan, New York City.
- Otto H. Kahn, Partner, Kuhn, Loeb and Co., New York City.
- Gilman Fanfold Corporation, Ltd, Niagara Falls, New York, represented by George E. Russell, Manager of Sales Promotion.

##### AFFILIATED MEMBERSHIP

- Dr. Florence Edler, Dept. of History, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, Soldiers Field, Boston, Mass.
- Harvey E. Fisk, Jr., Research Department, City Bank Farmers Trust Co., New York.

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*Whole Number 27*

## The Motion Picture Industry

THE early business career of motion pictures lies entangled in the correspondence and documents of the firm of Raff & Gammon which have been presented to our organization through the kindness of Terry Ramsaye, Editor-in-Chief of Pathé Exchange, Inc., New York. Lost in the volumes of vituperative letters from impatient dealers and the business negotiations of Raff & Gammon for the sale of monopoly rights for whole states, the business history of the industry awaits a thorough ransacking of the available documents. What is most apparent immediately is the excitement of the public in the new invention and the rush of the more adroit to seize the profits from its immediate exploitation.

Edison's kinetoscope which appeared in the early 90's was a peep arrangement in which the strip of film ran between a "magnifying lens and a light source." The disadvantage, of course, was that only one spectator could peep at a time. The technique of projecting the picture on the wall was invented in 1895 by young Thomas Armat of Washington — and the expansion of the industry had begun. The vitascope, as the new machine was called, was heralded throughout the land as another great invention of the incomparable Edison and in a book of newspaper clippings for the year 1896 one finds no mention of its real inventor Armat.

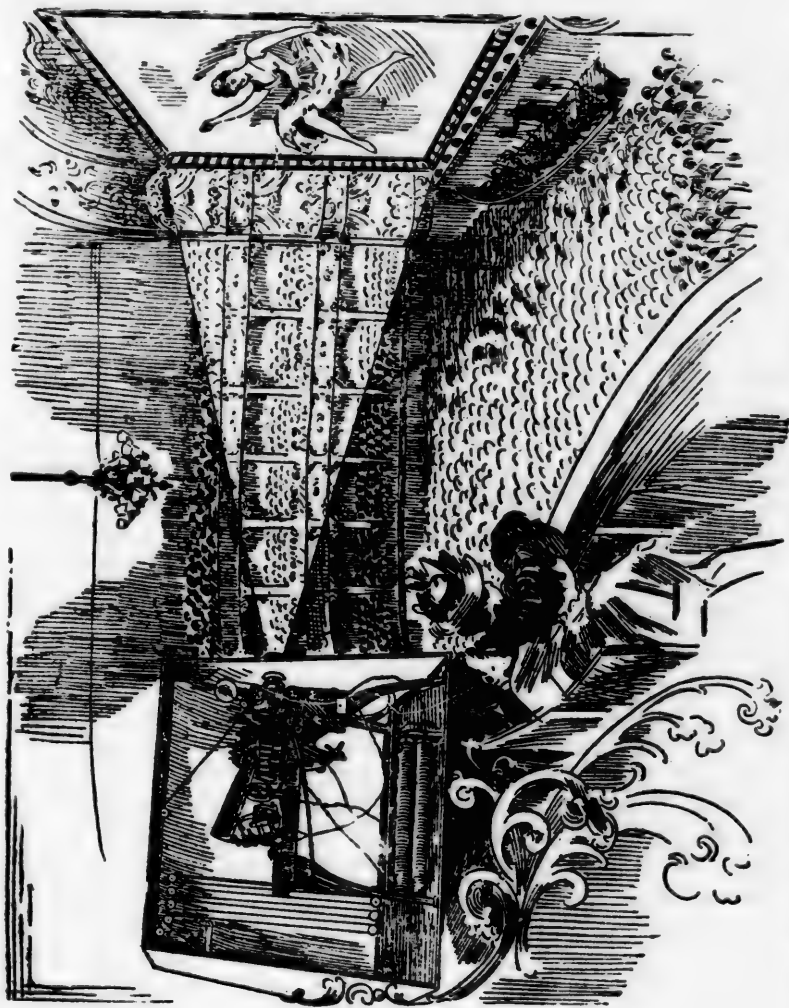
The explanation is to be found in the private correspondence of Raff & Gammon during 1896. In a long letter to Armat on March 5 the company impresses upon him the necessity of securing patents on the vitascope in foreign countries and especially "England, France and Germany, and possibly Russia should be covered without the delay of a single day," and then turns to another subject.

"We assume that you, like ourselves, have gone into this thing with a view to making all the money possible, and judging from our acquaintance with you, we feel sure that no undue considerations of pride, or other feelings which might influence the practical results, will be entertained by you." The point, said Raff & Gammon, is this: people have been expecting an Edison vitascope. They have been waiting for it. Anything else will seem inferior to them and they will reject your machine for the future Edison invention. So "in order to secure the largest profit in the shortest time, it is necessary that we attach Mr. Edison's name in some prominent capacity to this new machine. While Mr. Edison has no desire to pose as the inventor of the machine, yet we think we can arrange with him for the use of his name and the name of his manufactory to such an extent as may be necessary to the best results. We should, of course, not misrepresent the facts to any inquirer, but we think we can use Mr. Edison's name in such a manner as to keep within the actual truth, and yet get the benefit of his prestige." From the newspapers of the day the ruse was most successful.

Young Armat must have replied in post haste and somewhat indignantly for on March 9 there is a carbon copy of a letter declaring that their previous letter had been misunderstood "as we have never contemplated leasing this new machine to any-one . . . . Mr. Edison is to receive no compensation whatever for the use of his name in connection with this machine which he will build." In this letter an additional argument is brought forward that Armat's machine was "somewhat adversely criticized" in Atlanta where it was first exhibited.

Then comes the scramble for territories which Raff & Gammon dispensed with a lordly hand. The eastern states were gulped in a moment and the western territories hardly less quickly. A letter on April 4, 1896 prices Oklahoma at \$5,000. To a firm in Canada they write, "We cannot divide up Canada, but will sell the entire dominion for \$8,000." Mississippi is a mere \$1,000; Iowa, \$3,500; Ohio, \$5,000; Missouri, \$3,000; Texas, \$2,500; Louisiana, \$1,000; Indiana, \$4,000; Minnesota, \$2,000; and California, \$2,500.

A letter on April 20 informs an inquirer, "We have sold a number of the western states, including Colorado, Montana, Utah and California, and if you wish any western territory you should take prompt action. . . . With regard to South America we will sell you the entire country, that is the whole of South America, for \$10,000



EARLY MOTION PICTURE ENTERTAINMENT AS DEPICTED IN THE "DENVER NEWS," OCTOBER 4, 1896.

or we will sell the Republic of Mexico for \$6,000, provided that it is not taken before we hear from you."

Another sheaf of material in the collection are the incoming letters — vague inquiries, telegrams demanding prompt delivery, loud complaints and criticisms, and letters requiring the formula which Hjalmar Schacht as Currency Commissioner in Germany found so useful, "I have been much interested in your illuminating suggestions on the. . . ." One of the more ingenious had already seen motion picture possibilities for use in that great national arena — the 1896 presidential campaign.

Of more seriousness are the criticisms from picture houses over the country as to the quality of the films. E. F. Albee, Manager of Keith's Theatre in Boston, succinctly declares that instead of the machine being a feature it has become a farce. As the great fights of the day lost their charm, some substitute had to be found and the whole development of the motion picture industry, according to Terry Ramsaye in his entertaining "A Million and One Nights," was to be foreseen in the popularity of the short sketch, "The May Irwin — John C. Rice Kiss," popularly known as the "Kiss."

An order from Ottawa describes in title thirteen films popular in the 90's: Sea Waves, Pickaninnies, Fire Scene, Milk White Flag, Ocean Greyhound leaving Wharf, Cock Fight, Bucking Broncho, Carnival, Kiss, Herald Square, Sun Dance (colored film), Monroe Doctrine, and Cissy Fitzgerald. The three particularly demanded are Sea Waves, Sun Dance, and the famous Kiss.

## Tariff In 1820

THAT the tariff conflict of agricultural and manufacturing interests in the United States was not much different a hundred years ago than it is today is exemplified in an acquisition of the Business Historical Society, "A view of the ruinous consequences of a dependence on foreign markets for the sale of the great staples of this nation, FLOUR, COTTON, AND TOBACCO." The author is Matthew Carey, one of the most vociferous protectionists writing after the crash of 1819.

This forty-page tract published in 1820 is addressed to the Congress of the United States after having been "read before, and ordered to be printed by, the Board of the Pennsylvania Society for



the promotion of American Manufactures." The title-page is well fortified with quotations from Governor Wolcott, then in command in Pennsylvania, Lord Chatham, the political philosopher Postlethwaite, and "Horat." in Latin.

That the quality of the material is of the high caliber recently given to the American public in the Hawley-Smoot campaign is evidenced by a statement in the preface that the author has "depended more on strong and decisive facts, than on abstruse reasonings. The former are almost universally safe guides — the latter mere *ignes fatui*, which too generally lead astray."

Carey begins his argument with the statement that he has been unjustly regarded as hostile to farmers and merchants whereas, he declares, there is an identity of interest between them. Rather than waiting upon a precarious foreign market subject to competition in cotton from East India, the wheat states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio suffering from sales in Odessa, Virginia tobacco competing with European rivals — not to speak of potential battles in these commodities with South America — we should in an enlightened fashion give the home manufacturer a chance. Let the manufacturers who previously from want of protection returned to the soil for a livelihood go back to their native occupations. This would produce a two-fold beneficial effect — "diminish the number of producers, and of course the surplus of agricultural productions, with most of which foreign markets are over-stocked. And it would moreover furnish the farmers with a certain domestic market instead of a precarious foreign one."

## The Trotters — Colonial Importers

THE history of one of America's oldest importing houses contained in records for the period from 1798 to 1916 has been presented by Mr. and Mrs. William Henry Trotter of Philadelphia. William Trotter, Quaker, who organized the company in 1789, was an importer of metals, leather goods, textiles and miscellaneous commodities.

A prosperous business with the home country was shattered with the War of 1812, and William Trotter and then later his brother Nathan turned to the Orient and became importers of tea and spices. But trade with England was safer and more remunerative,

and the Trotters revived their earlier business, particularly in metals, when peace was declared in 1815.

The collection covers a vast amount of manuscript records. Over a thousand account books exist covering the period from 1803 to 1916. Many files of material such as the day books and ledgers are unbroken. The books of duplicate letters of the company number one hundred ninety-six, twenty-two of which are devoted to their foreign correspondence. The company was interested in a large number of subsidiary concerns, particularly mining and turnpike companies, whose records are also included.

The Trotters were not interested narrowly in their business. As importers they kept themselves well informed on the state of trade, the comparative prices of commodities and market opportunities, the effects of the tariff, and the political situation in Europe and America. We may cite as an example the comment in Nathan Trotter's letter of February 27, 1834 to Jevons Sons & Co., a British exporting firm, on business under the Jacksonian régime: "The energies of business are paralyzed by the acts of the president and his kitchen cabinet. . . . His war on the United States Bank has shaken confidence beyond precedent, but we have the faith to believe that the Bank is invulnerable against his efforts to destroy it." Although the papers still await a comprehensive history of this importing business, they have often been used by research students in studies of prices, commodity imports, the reaction of business to the tariff, and the methods of early importing concerns.

The records indicate that Nathan Trotter was the business genius in the history of this concern. For a time he was interested in "adventures" in importing and exporting enterprises with Latin America. It was he who saw that specializing in metals was more desirable than the earlier importing of all kinds of English commodities. It was his astuteness that pulled the company through the depression following the War of 1812 and the 1837 panic. And when this country placed heavier and heavier duties on foreign imports, Nathan Trotter became a dealer in home-manufactured metal goods. By the '90's the business had undergone important transformations. Its purchases in the British market were largely speculative in character. From a large wholesale house it had become a jobbing concern which shipped the goods directly from the manufacturer to the consumer. The American tariff and the inevitable development of the industrial revolution had radically affected this old importing business.

That Edward Trotter could not take the fierce pleasure which his father Nathan enjoyed in expanding the business is well illustrated in the delightful correspondence which took place between father and son when Edward went to England in 1835. Edward was sent to London primarily in the interests of the business and any "learning" he might acquire should be incidental and only after the full requirements of business had been satisfied. But Edward is charmed with the relics of an Elizabethan period and old architecture and writes of them to his father with the remark, "I might go on describing various monuments that I saw for I impressed them strongly on my memory but it might weary thy patience." A little later he writes, "Tonight we attend a grand fancy ball to be given at the Colisseum. Thee will say a fine place for young Quakers but we shall have a fine opportunity of seeing the beauty and fashion of London and as it will be attended by none but the most respectable I overlooked conscience and have concluded to go."

Nathan Trotter is somewhat skeptical of his son's application but replies with tolerant advices of caution and particular requests on business activities. Then he hears of his son's precipitate decision to travel over the continent and he hurriedly writes, "I must confess myself surprised at what I read in thine of 28 Feb. (1836) from Paris rec'd yesterday of your intention of making such a tour in Europe." Several earlier letters, he writes, list interviews with "our friends on the other side for goods, expecting thy personal attention would have placed us on better footing. This disappointment added to those on this side will, I fear, make us a slim concern this year." And then quite typically, "While I express my feeling I wish thee every possible happiness and must hope this unusual opportunity will store thy mind with every useful information and qualify thee for close application and competent management of business on thy return home and I hope as I before have told thee that business will not be discarded from thy views but that every possible pains will have been taken in gaining information that will be beneficial and if not of immediate advantage by operation of thy own personally some subsequent benefit will grow out of thy visit."

My dear Son

Phil<sup>a</sup> 19 April 1886  
 I must confess myself surprised at  
 what I read in thine of 28 Feb from Paris re: yesterday  
 of your intention of making such a tour in Europe  
 and the several letters I had written of 15 & 29 Feb  
 & 15, 29, 28 & 31 May & just under sign to show would it find its way  
 all these letters referred to business and important  
 ideas relative to thy actions in relation to it and, besides  
 my making the usual application to our friends on the  
 other side for goods expecting thy personal attention  
 would have placed us on better footing this day, I must

A QUAKER'S SHOCKED LETTER ON LEARNING OF HIS SON'S ARRIVAL IN PARIS

## Medieval Treatises on Money

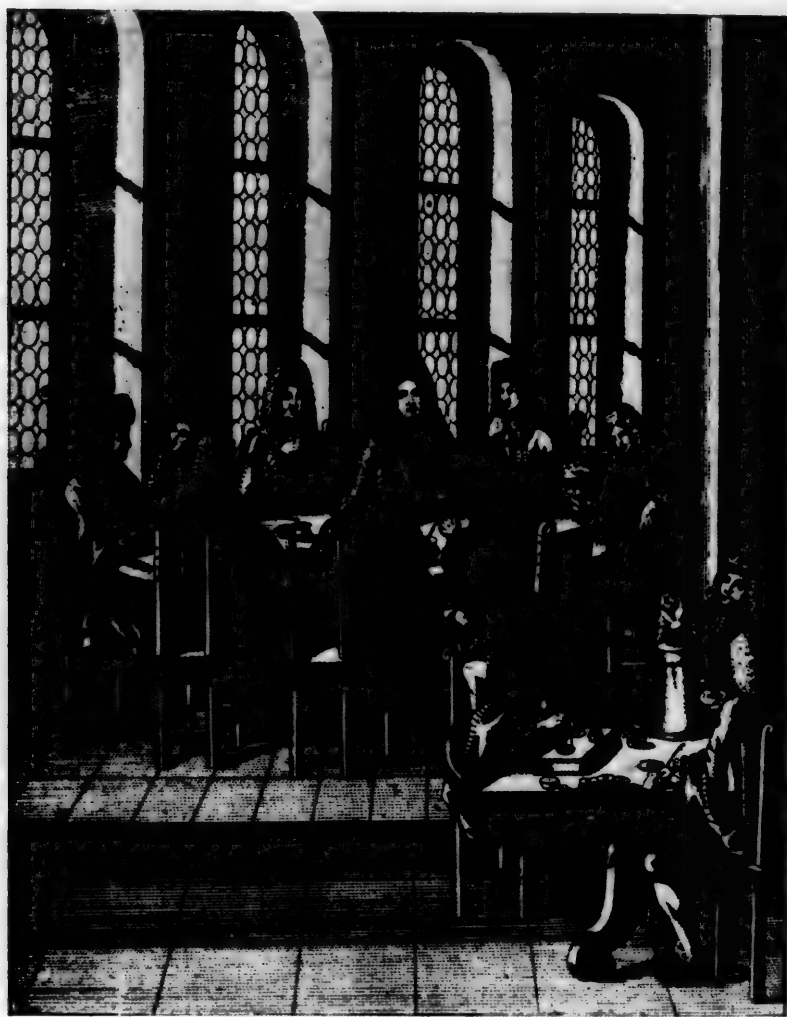
FIVE German monetary treatises written in the seventeenth century have reached the Business Historical Society through the generosity of Walter T. Rosen, Partner in Ladenburg, Thalman & Co. of New York. These books together with a late seventeenth century statement of English mercantilist theory were formerly in the Seligman collection.

Among the greatest difficulties in medieval trade were the variety and unstable value of the coins used in exchange. Variety was due to production of coins by hundreds of small localities — a condition which was of course obviated with the growth of nation states and coinage monopoly.

Monetary depreciation, according to J. M. Keynes in "Monetary Reform," is continuous for two reasons: the financial necessities of governments and the political influence of the debtor class. In the undeveloped system of medieval coinage there were additional factors — the deficient technique of minting which resulted in varying weights for the coins (this was particularly true of the smaller coins) and abrasion from ordinary use, as well as intentional abrasion commonly called "clipping." In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries debasement of the silver currency was so great that gold came generally to take its place — while in the fifteenth century for the same reason and also the increase in German production of silver, silver was reestablished to its former position in international trade.

From the fourteenth century two types of gold coins — the ducat and the gold gulden — were important in Germany's trade. According to an imperial ordinance of 1559 and unchanged until the eighteenth century, the exchange basis of the two coins was 100 ducats to 137 gold gulden. In reality, however, the ratio varied from 120 to 164 gulden per 100 ducats during the seventeenth century alone.

The latest volume of this collection, "Münz Tractat," by C. L. Lucio and published about 1695 is a monetary treatise on the appreciation and depreciation of the gulden from 1676 to 1691. A large part of the book is devoted to facsimiles of the numerous kinds of coins used in the German states and the texts of the monetary ordinances for the period.



WEIGHING COINS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Frontispiece of Lucio's "Münz Tractat" (1695)

The remaining German books are pamphlets dealing with particular questions which appeared important during the seventeenth century. One pamphlet appearing in 1624 dealt with the question of whether a debtor who had received gold standard coins of the realm could repay his debt in debased coinage and the author quotes imposing Latin passages to support his thesis that one should not. Another treatise appearing in 1623 contains the "kurzes aber doch gründlichs Bedencken" on whether a man who had purchased a yearly pension could be expected to accept the same money which has since depreciated. A fourth pamphlet also treats of these monetary problems.

The most valuable book of this group is an expression of English mercantilism written at the height of this theory's popularity. It is, according to the unknown author, "A Discourse of Trade, Coyn, and Paper Credit: and of Ways and Means to Gain, and Retain Riches." Nations may be considered as great families, or merchants, or traders in their relations with one another. If one nation does not export goods in payment for goods imported, then as in the trade among individuals, there must be a movement of bullion. Those trades are good which encourage exports, those disadvantageous which cause imports. The author admits gold and silver are only commodities which "cannot afford us any increase while kept within the Kingdom" yet he insists that it is "that in which the Riches of Nation doth so much consist" and vaguely substantiates this remark with the statement that gold and silver are "so necessary for the Payment of Fleets and Armies, and carrying on of Commerce, that we cannot be Safe, nor Rich, without it."

## Evidence of the Putting-Out System in America

AN old hand-worn brown leather book has come into the hands of the Business Historical Society on the varied business activities of a New Englander for the period 1837 to 1857. We are indebted to Edgar A. Clarke of New Hartford, Connecticut, for this rarity.

Anthony Baker, who kept the book, evidently began his career as a tanner and maker of leather goods. Hides were probably brought in by the neighboring farmers to New Hartford, and boots,



harnesses and other leather articles were made to satisfy the individual orders of the community.

The first half of the Baker records is a daybook on his activities in this business. A pair of thick boots for Julius Dailey was \$2.75. Soling a pair of women's boots was \$.17. A pair of boy's shoes cost \$2.00. Soling and heeling a pair of boots were \$.62. Luman Callin had a calfskin tanned for \$.75. Baker includes his own accounts and we find him paying \$3.48 for 87 pounds of hide. Each scribbled item is marked debit or credit to show incoming or outgoing cash.

The latter half of the book is a ledger. Some time before 1850 Baker had expanded his business horizontally. He had taken a two-story building — the first floor of which was used as a general store and post office, while the second story housed his growing clothing factory. Much of the business was done on the putting-out system and the ledger contains the names and accounts of over a hundred women — wives of farmers — who did handwork on the garments in their homes. For work on overalls — not described in the ledger — the women were invariably paid \$.75 per dozen. Work on coats — which in many cases consisted of partially lining them — was paid at the rate of \$.25 per coat. The women seemed to earn about \$1.50 or \$2.00 a month with decreases during the summer canning season and increased amounts during the winter months.

That Mr. Baker was in a somewhat advantageous position one discovers in the book notations of "cash" and "order." The latter, of course, means that the payment to the employees took the form of store supplies — and this form of payment seems to have dominated Baker's relations with his employees.

Mrs. Gibbs, for example, seems to have been one of his most industrious workers. From May 8 to November 5, 1857 the lady earned the tremendous sum of \$70.00. On November 18 she was paid, receiving \$49.26 as "order" and the remaining amount in cash. It is a significant point but under the circumstances rather profitless, to consider whether Mrs. Gibbs in the ecstasy of receiving a fortune, desired or was persuaded to purchase "two cans of everything you have, Mr. Baker, with a broom thrown in and maybe some more bottles of ketchup."

At any rate the small tanning business of 1825 had become by 1855 one worth \$20,000 in a small town in northwestern Connecticut.

## Historical Variations

Two books on the history of Birmingham are catalogued in our library whose only resemblance is that both have as subject that famous industrial region in the heart of England. One called the "History of Birmingham to the end of the year 1780" by a W. Hutton was presented by H. B. Vanderblue, Vice-President of the Tri-Continental Corporation of New York. The second book, published in 1929, by G. C. Allen, Lecturer in Industrial Organization of the University of Birmingham is "The Industrial Development of Birmingham and the Black Country, 1860-1927."

The books are representative of their period. In the eighteenth century an author surveyed all aspects of a city's life and we find in Hutton's book chapters equally divided on such diverse subjects as "Religion and Politics," streets, industries, "Lords of the Manor," the theater, schools, and the important "edifices" of the town. By the twentieth century historians had cut up man's activity into the minutest segments. Not only did a student write economic history but he limited himself to an industry or more probably to a portion of an industry. But the German "Gestalt" conception of the importance of the whole is penetrating the social sciences — evidenced, for example, in the cross-section description of a typical middlewestern town in the sociological study "Middletown" by Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd. In economic history it has perhaps best appeared in this able study of Birmingham by Professor Allen.

The historian writing in 1780 makes evident in the dedication that he is a kind of home-spun philosopher. He is critical of the scholarship of his period whose usual method is "to polish up a sounding title-page, dignified with scraps of Latin, and then, to hammer up a work to fit it, as nearly as genius, or want of genius, will allow." The value of a book, he declares, depends neither upon its sponsors nor its flattering dedication but upon the subject matter itself. And one suspects that the biography of the author would have been more enlightening than his history of Birmingham when he asks, "Will it augment the value of this history, or cover its blunders, to say, That I have never seen Oxford? That the thick fogs of penury prevented the sun of science from beaming upon the mind? That necessity obliged me to lay down the battledore, be-

fore I was master of the letters? And, that instead of handling systems of knowledge, my hands, at the early period of seven, became callous with labour?"

At the time of Hutton's writing Birmingham had become the center of a powerful iron industry as well as of a group of allied metal industries making buttons, buckles, guns, brass products, etc. The author's conclusions are summarized in the statement that Birmingham began with the productions of the anvil, and probably will end with them. At another time the writer comments, "Ironstone and coal are the materials for this production both of which are found in the neighbourhood in great plenty. I asked a gentleman of knowledge, if there was a probability of the delphs failing? He answered, 'Not in five thousand years.'"

Professor Allen's book, published last year, is important not as evidence of the falsity of the unknown gentleman's statistics but because, as J. F. Rees states in the introduction, the West Midlands have anticipated the course which British manufactures now seem to be pursuing. And this adaptation is "increasing concentration on the production of finished goods of high quality."

The iron industry in Birmingham and the Black Country as described in the old volume survived and flourished for almost a hundred years after Hutton had written. From 1875 to 1886 the district had sunk to a position of almost no importance. This was due to the lack of raw materials which had been menacing the district for years and for two other reasons: first, the introduction of Bessemer and open-hearth steel which transformed the mechanism of the industry and moved it to coastal districts, and second, foreign competition. This coincided with the decline of elaborate metal decoration characteristic of the Victorian era.

What happened? Birmingham had a reserve of skilled labor and organizing ability. The area expanded and thrived with a new set of industries demanding a high degree of technical skill. Some of these trades found the old iron set-up peculiarly convenient, i. e., cycles, motor cars, electrical apparatus, weighing and measuring apparatus, and machine tools. Other industries were of an entirely different character such as artificial silk, rubber manufactures, and food and drink products. The movement has been from the manufacture of semi-products and of rather simple articles to the most highly finished and composite products. Along with this has gone a tendency toward large scale production, highly centralized control and thorough rationalization of the whole system.

Professor Allen's conclusions are that Birmingham is one of the most sensitive industrial centers in all England and that "it seems reasonable to hope that the success which has attended the transference of industrial interests in this one district may also be attained by the country as a whole." The decaying of old staple industries does not mean a decline of the country if the manufacturers are quick to seize new sources of demand. The success of Birmingham, he ends, "points to the conclusion that, for the entire country, policy should be directed towards speeding up the inevitable transformation and towards easing the process of transition, rather than towards supporting by artificial means the decaying members of the industrial structure."

### "Mr. Owen, the Philanthropist"

WHO today can be compared with Robert Owen, the "great manufacturer with a bent for benevolence" who rebelled against the crudities of a vigorously expanding industrial organization? The difference between Owen and our great modern benefactors is perhaps that they are always manufacturers with a bent more or less accentuated for benevolence, while Owen's bent became a fanatical passion to redeem a hostilely suspicious world which ultimately repudiated him.

The culmination of Owen's economic and political philosophy is found in his communistic experiment in Indiana called "New Harmony" in 1825. The plan was for a pure community based on full equality of the settlers who arrived from everywhere. G. D. H. Cole's comment on the community in his biography of Owen is, "The failure was from the first inevitable; for a small Community of idealists, each with his own set of theories and each compelled to put theory into instant practice over the whole field of life and in circumstances of exceptional difficulty, offers the very maximum of opportunity for quarrels and divisions. The surprising fact is not that New Harmony collapsed but that it lasted so long, and that visitors and residents bear testimony to the fine spirit which prevailed there even amid the dissensions and confusions which brought it to an end."

An early pamphlet of the Business Historical Society by Robert Owen is "Observations on the effect of the manufacturing system;

with hints for the improvement of those parts of it which are most injurious to health and morals," published in 1817. In spite of the fact that Owen at this time has become less the great business man reformer and more the Utopian idealist and has begun his permanent break with the governing classes in his characteristically hopeful manner he dedicates his comments "most respectfully to the British Legislature."

It is Owen's idea that the new industrial system has been generating a new character in his inhabitants. The governing principle is "immediate pecuniary gain" which has permeated the lowest classes, and expresses itself there in its most harmful manner — exploitation of children. In 1817 he pleads for a parliamentary act doing three things: 1. "limiting the regular hours of labour in mills of machinery to 12 per day, including one hour and a half for meals"; 2. "children cannot be employed in factories until they are 10 years old and shall not be employed more than 6 hours a day until they are 12"; 3. children cannot work in factories "until they can read and write in an useful manner, understand the first four rules of arithmetic, and the girls be likewise competent to sew their common garments of clothing."

Owen is blissfully confident that all advance lies in training since "children may be taught any habits and any sentiments." Neglect of humanity as exemplified in the early nineteenth century spelled ruin, while education to Owen meant a Utopian progress not even practically conceived of because of a concept's inherent limitations.

## The Famous Dictionary of the Eighteenth Century

THE volumes are ponderous. The title-page in sonorous and dignified language informs one that this is "A Dictionary of the English Language in which the WORDS are deduced from their ORIGINALS, and illustrated in their different significations by examples from the best writers, to which are prefixed, a history of the language, and an English grammar. By Samuel Johnson, A.M. In Two Volumes." The page is then topped off in good Johnsonian style with a nine-line Latin quotation from Horace.

The dictionary published in 1755 was formerly in the library of Benjamin Thomas Hill of Worcester, Mass. It was presented to the

Business Historical Society through the kindness of friends of Mr. Hill and members of the Society resident in Worcester. On the inside of the cover there is a copy (made about 1832) of Samuel Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield. Chesterfield, it will be recalled, repulsed Johnson, the struggling, eccentric hack writer, and courted the author in fame. The book went to press without a dedication. Johnson's sturdy independence speaks out in his letter dated February 7, 1755 to the Earl: "The notice which you have been pleased to take of my labours, had it been early, had been kind; but it has been delayed till I am indifferent, and cannot enjoy it; till I am solitary, and cannot impart it; till I am known, and do not want it."

Paging the volumes, one finds the definitions endlessly entertaining. *Business* means "employment; multiplicity of affairs" and for further elucidation Johnson quotes the lines of Donne:

Must *business* thee from hence remove?  
Oh! that's the worst disease of love.

It may also mean "an affair." In this sense it has the plural. And quoting from *King Lear*:

Bestow  
Your needful counsel to our *businesses*,  
Which crave the instant use.

*Carriage* is "the act of carrying or transporting, or bearing any thing." And Johnson takes from Bacon's *Natural History*, "The unequal agitation of the winds, though material to the carriage of sounds farther or less way, yet do not confound the articulation."

Of *goose* Johnson says, "A large waterfowl proverbially noted, I know not why, for foolishness." And for verification Johnson quotes:

From *Macbeth*:

Thou cream-faced lown,  
Where got'st thou that *goose* look?

From *King Lear*:

Smile you my speeches, as I were a fool?  
*Goose*, if I had you upon Sarum plain,  
I'd drive ye cackling home to Comelot.

One of the most slippery words to the modern compiler is *factory* but to Sam Johnson in the middle of the eighteenth century two sentences sufficed: "1. A house or district inhabited by traders in a distant country. 2. The traders embodied in one place."

As members of the Business Historical Society we turn to see what Johnson has said of *history*. He has three definitions:

1. A narration of events and facts delivered with dignity.

Justly Caesar scorns the poet's lays;  
It is to *history* he trusts for praise. *Pope.*

2. Narration; relation.

What *histories* of toil could I declare?  
But still long-weary'd nature wants repair.  
*Pope's Odyssey.*

3. The knowledge of facts and events.

*History*, so far as it relates to the affairs of the Bible, is necessary to divines. *Wait's Improvement of the Mind.*

With Chesterfield in mind one looks up the word *patron*. Old Johnson never minced his phrases. His definition of a patron is, "One who countenances, supports or protects. Commonly a wretch who supports with indolence, and is paid with flattery."

### In Memoriam

AS THE Bulletin goes to press we are informed of the sudden death of Charles F. Bacon, president of Chandler & Co., Boston.

Mr. Bacon's outstanding characteristic was his versatility. He was not only a veteran merchandiser but an Oriental rug expert, a lawyer, an ardent golfer, and a public-spirited citizen. His interest in activities for the social good covered his long life. He was in deep sympathy with the aim of the Business Historical Society to preserve the essential records of business history, and became a member of the organization in 1927.

The Society regrets the loss of one of its greatest friends.

### Secretary's Column

#### ACQUISITIONS

The Society gratefully acknowledges the receipt of the following acquisitions received since the last publication of the Bulletin:

From A. P. Taylor, Librarian, Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu.  
The Hawaiian Islands:



- Howay, F. W. — *Early relations with the Pacific Northwest*.  
Golder, F. A. — *Russia and Russian Alaska*.  
Blue, G. V. — *French Kingdom, French Empire, French Republic*.
- From E. L. Immelen, Libreria gia Nardecchia, Rome, Italy.  
An old pamphlet supplementing portions of the Barberini Manuscripts.
- From Samuel Mather, Cleveland, Ohio.  
Beasley, Norman. — *Freighters of Fortune*.
- From John B. Paine, Boston.  
Original letters from Charles E. Perkins, President, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad to General Charles J. Paine, Director. 1888, 1890, 1895, 1900. Also miscellaneous circulars relating to the early development of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad.
- From Terry Ramsaye, Editor-in-Chief, Pathé Exchange, Inc., New York.  
Source material — Correspondence, Contracts, Letter Book, Scrap Book of Raff & Gammon, The Vitascope Company and Kinetoscope Company covering the first period of motion picture production.  
Also first contract executed for motion picture rights in Louisiana; press clippings and price list.
- From John Omwake, Chairman, U. S. Playing Card Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.  
The Conestoga Six Horse Bell Teams of Eastern Pennsylvania published by John Omwake for private distribution.
- From Dr. J. Stroomberg, Chief Division of Commerce, Buitenzorg, Java.  
Handbook of Netherlands East Indies for 1930.  
Exporters' Directory of Netherlands East Indies, 6th ed.  
Importers' Directory of Netherlands East Indies, 7th ed.
- From Paul B. Halstead, Secretary, Cotton Textile Institute, Inc., New York.  
Six miscellaneous pamphlets on cotton.
- From Ernest A. Nash, Editor, Federation of British Industries Register, London.  
Federation of British Industries Register of British Manufacturers, 1930-31.
- From an officer of the Society.  
Several cases of miscellaneous material, containing books, manuscripts, account books, of the whalers of the 1830's; papers relating to the California Gold Miners of 1849, record books of business of whaling vessels, periodicals, etc.
- From A. Stainforth, Boston.  
*The Constitution of the Associated Housewright Society of the Town of Boston*.
- From Price, Waterhouse & Co., New York.  
Several cases of miscellaneous statistical series, pamphlets and books.

From Frederic B. Stevens, President National Savings Bank, Albany, N. Y.

*Albany's Historic Street.*

From Clarence S. Brigham, Librarian, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

Manchester, England, Prices Current.

From Christopher de Groot, General Agent, North German Lloyd, Boston.  
*Seventy Years of North German Lloyd, 1857-1927.*

Also periodical containing detailed accounts of the construction of the Bremen and Europa.

From Dr. L. Vernon Briggs, Boston.

Original estimates for stock and labor for book publication, 1888.

From Newton C. Brainard, Hartford, Conn.

Sample pages of old account books, showing some of the first plans for account distribution.

The following names have been added to the Membership of the Society since the last publication of the Bulletin:

#### GENERAL MEMBERSHIP

Paul B. Morgan, President, Morgan Construction Co., Worcester, Mass.

James Hillhouse, Sachem's Wood, New Haven, Conn.

Wetmore Hodges, General Sea Food Corporation, Boston.

H. J. Halle, President, Universal Oil Products Co., New York.

Dwight P. Robinson, President, United Engineers and Constructors, Philadelphia.

#### AFFILIATED MEMBERSHIP

Dr. Alvar Silow, Director, Biblioteket Department, Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags Aktiebolag, Falun, Sweden.

Mrs. Florence Conant Howes, Assistant Secretary, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston.

Bernice Judd, Librarian, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu, H. T.

Colonel John R. Fordyce, Director, Arkansas Department of History, Hot Springs National Park, Ark.

Professor Raynor G. Wellington, Belmont, Mass.

Dr. Charles H. Lincoln, Custodian of Manuscripts, Worcester Historical Society, Worcester, Mass.

# BULLETIN *of The* BUSINESS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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## New England's Business History

NEW ENGLAND, early settled within its small slice of territory, has seen its influence spread to the Pacific as a nation's frontier gradually receded westward. Blocked by its barren soil from agricultural expansion and encouraged by proximity to the sea, the section quickly turned to commerce and manufacturing. New England goods handled by New England merchants flowed south and west, and its surplus capital aided in the development of the new areas.

Consequently, a huge mass of records has grown up on New England's business activities. Due to Yankee perspicacity much of it has been preserved. The Business Historical Society, with the facilities of Baker Library at hand, has undertaken the care of a considerable quantity of such material, and is able to put its collection of manuscripts, record books, and old documents of all sorts at the disposal of students. And they are being used.

One of New England's institutions which has placed its business records in Baker Library is the First National Bank, Boston, which traces its history back to the colonial period through the Massachusetts Bank. John Hancock was one of the signers of its charter, and the first president of the bank was the second governor of the Commonwealth, James Bowdoin. Research into these documents has resulted in a history of the bank to be published in 1931 under the title of *History of the Massachusetts Bank, 1764-1865* by Professor N. S. B. Gras of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. It will be divided into three parts: first, a general introduction which includes a sketch of the bank up to recent times as the First National Bank; second, excerpts from the more important documents; and third, statistical tables. This volume of

perhaps six hundred pages will appear as the third in the series of *Harvard Studies in Business History*.

Another group of material has proved its usefulness — the papers of the Boston Manufacturing Company, organized in 1813. This company is believed to be the first mill in America that carried through the processes of manufacture from raw cotton to finished cloth under one roof. For many years it served as a bleacher and dyer for other textile firms in New England who were unequipped with machinery to do this for themselves. For a time a machine shop was connected with the mill for the building of textile machinery, and the company aided in the equipment of many early Lowell mills.

The records of the Boston Manufacturing Company in Baker Library are largely account books, payrolls, ledgers, etc., and contain considerable material on the early factory system in New England. Before coming into the care of Baker Library, they were used by Miss Edith Abbott in her book on *Women in Industry: A Study in American Economic History* (D. Appleton, 1910), and are now being examined for a doctoral thesis on the history of the hosiery industry.

The collection of the Lawrence Manufacturing Company, incorporated in 1831 in Lowell, Mass., is amazingly complete in its correspondence, accounting and production records. The original product was coarse cotton cloth, but in 1864 the company was unable to secure raw cotton and turned to the production of woolen stockings until after the Civil War. The records are useful for price and wage studies as well as textile tariff history.

In its beginning the Lawrence Manufacturing Company imported skilled labor from England, paying passage expenses for the mechanic and his family to America, later to be repaid in labor. Other textile records indicate the movement of these families to various sections of New England, and the erection of their own factories.

A member of the Baker Library staff is just completing the arranging and cataloguing of the large collection of the cotton and woolen mills of S. Slater & Sons, Inc., Webster, Massachusetts, and Providence, Rhode Island — which includes subsidiary companies like the Sutton Manufacturing Co., Steam Cotton Manufacturing Co., Slater Wardwell Co., Providence Iron Foundry, the Samuel Slater & Sons warehouse in New York — beginning with the first mill in 1794 and ending a hundred years later. The records are day-



**EVIDENCES OF THE PUTTING-OUT SYSTEM IN NEW ENGLAND**

(Above) Ebenezer Belcher's "ten-footer" built before 1800 in which he did his work  
(Below) Interior of the shoe shop.

books, ledgers, production books, letterbooks, payrolls, journals, etc. They are of particular value for showing the development of machine processes and gradual expansion of production to the more complicated fabrics. For example, the Slater and Howard books on production indicate that thread, stocking yarn, hose and broadcloth were being manufactured; cassimere is added by the Dudley Manufacturing Company; while in the middle of the nineteenth century the Webster Woolen Company were interested in the production of doeskin, twill, mohair, mokowa, castor, broadcloth and fancy cloth.

The books contain source material for statistical studies on wages. One of the by-activities of the Slater Company was a store which was patronized by the workers, who often received their wages in the form of grocery commodities. The documents provide a complete account of the development of this feature, and the consequent relation of the worker to his employer. It is an interesting fact that the records themselves were found stored away in the upper floor of the old red brick building which had originally served as the "company store."

There is opportunity here, too, for the study of costs, the effect of machines on the development of the industry, the movement of immigrant labor, the reaction of an old industry to swiftly moving economic conditions. The material has served in a doctoral thesis by Miss Caroline Ware, a part of which was published as "The Effect of the American Embargo, 1807-1809, on the New England Cotton Industry," in the August, 1926, issue of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (Vol. XL, No. 4). The Slater papers were also extensively used in Professor Arthur H. Cole's two-volume history, *The American Wool Manufacture* (Harvard University Press, 1926).

The shoe industry is represented by a small collection — two ledgers of Gilmore & Son during the 60's, a few miscellaneous account books for the 40's, and an early account book of Ebenezer Belcher covering the first half of the nineteenth century, which gives evidence of the putting-out system in New England. Mrs. George W. Sprague, who has presented the books, comments, "From these account books, the volume of business, rate of wages, times of payment, cost of materials, number and sex of employees, and the wholesale or retail prices of goods manufactured, can be known for this industry during the dates which they include." Mrs. Sprague (Blanche E. Hazard) has used this material in her volume, *The Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before*

1875, published as Volume XXIII in the *Harvard Economic Studies* (Harvard University Press, 1921). A second volume is now being written by Mrs. Sprague on the boot and shoe industry for the period after 1875, and it is probable that Baker Library will be the recipient of further manuscript material on this important industry.

The Hancock papers, a permanent loan from the New England Historic Genealogical Society, include the records of Thomas, John and Ebenezer Hancock, merchant traders and government agents, for the period 1730-1840. An article on "Thomas Hancock, Colonial Merchant," by Edward Edelman, has appeared in the November, 1928 issue of the *Journal of Economic and Business History*.

The Wendell collection, presented by Mrs. Barrett Wendell and pertaining to the commercial life of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is forming the basis of a Harvard doctoral dissertation at the present time.

In the series of *Harvard Studies in Business History* the first two volumes will be based on the Astor papers preserved in Baker Library. The first book will be a biography of John Jacob Astor by Kenneth W. Porter, who is working under Professor N. S. B. Gras of the Harvard Business School. A second volume of documents from the Astor collection will also be published.

One need say nothing further to vindicate the preservation of New England's old business manuscripts. Its industries date from the early settlements on this continent. The history of their adjustment to new conditions contains also a history of the economic development of other sections of the country. In its forgotten documents stored in forgotten places lies much that is necessary for a valid economic history.

## Why a Business History?

HISTORY — and this includes economic history — has thrived on controversy. Is it a science? Is it a scientific method? Is it a mere jumble of uncoördinated facts deadly in a textbook and amusing to a trained antiquarian? Or perhaps its utility is in substantiating our religions like "progress" and the Hegelian "march of reason"?

It is important to remember that the conceptions of "scientific exactitude" and "exact science" are not synonymous. The modern economic historian lays claim to accuracy — humanly attainable — but accuracy is not the only essential for a science of chemistry.



The critic of history as a science will inform you that history could tell Newton such facts as the distance of the apple from the ground, the height of the tree, the color of the apple, the time of day, the geographical situation of the tree, but from these details Newton could never have evolved his theory of gravitation. True. But the pertinency of history lies perhaps in the flippant response that Newton negatively knew history, for he never had heard of nor seen an apple falling up.

G. E. G. Catlin, in a recent book *The Science and Method of Politics* makes some observations on the uses of history which are particularly interesting because coming from a "political scientist." "It is to History," says Mr. Catlin, "that men, seeking a cure for those social diseases which History itself reveals to them, naturally turn for a light to show them the way out of their difficulties. They desire to know 'how it happened before.'"

Their satisfaction may be either religious or utilitarian. Emotionally, one may be resigned to an inchoate mass of actions which to Henry Adams meant nothing. Or history may impress upon men their single insignificance and bring them to ally themselves with the concept of an inevitable forward tramp of a civilization.

But the solace of these philosophies has no pragmatic basis for measurement and it is to the utilitarian value of history that we turn. "We look to History," says Catlin, "for enlightenment as to the nature of the society in which we live, as to what is permanent and what alterable. We desire to understand the structure of the social environment, and we shall only understand it by knowing its past and its growth. The essence of the study, however, is not the growth, but the structure itself in its more permanent parts and the consequences flowing persistently from this fact of permanence."

This theory predicates that it is business men today who can derive a great use from business history. Present situations have certain basic likenesses to past situations, the actions of men are not drastically different from what they have been before — it is these repetitions, these samenesses which we recognize, which may form for business history the maxims necessary for any kind of prediction and control of future conditions.

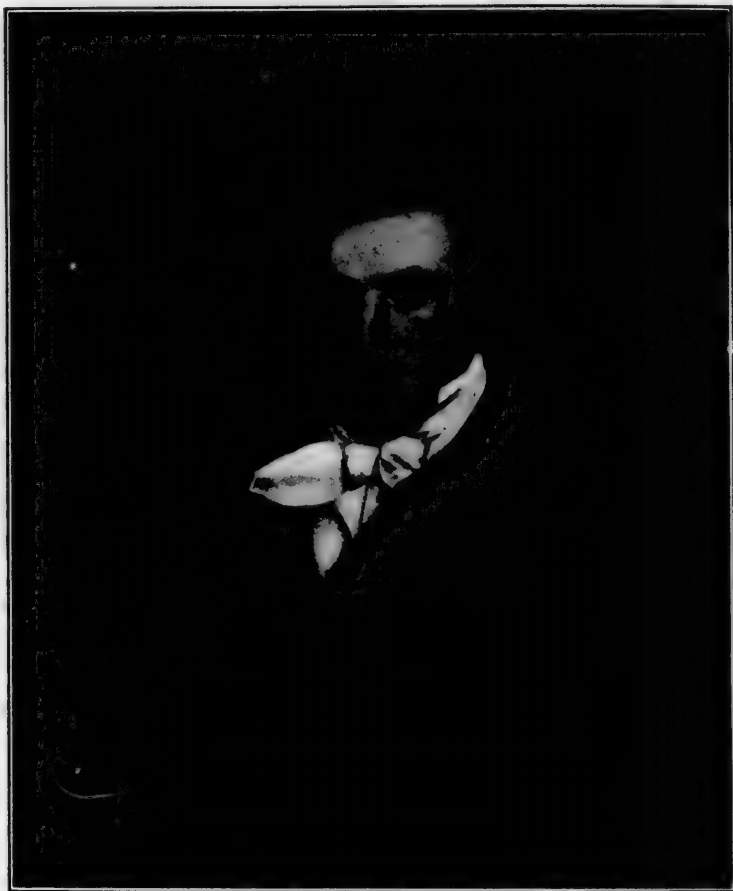
## Cargoes of Colonial Ships

Two collections of the Lord shipping records preserved in Maine since the colonial era have been presented to Harvard University and the Business Historical Society by Miss Mary Patterson Lord and Charles H. Taylor. Although considerable material on shipping is now contained in Baker Library, many invaluable manuscripts are still in private possession scattered along the Atlantic Coast. It is hoped that the extent and location of these documents will be made known for research in early American water transportation.

The older records indicate that Nathan Lord of Kennebunkport, Maine, was shipping in the late eighteenth century Madeira wine to the "London Market" at £30 per pipe and to the "New York Market" at £27. It is evident that Lord was at one time a sea captain for there is a document of 1790 listing Nathan Lord as master on the Brigantine *Betsy* leaving for Tobago Island in the West Indies at a salary of £3 per month. He returned with a load of rum consigned to "Jonathan Hamilton Esq. of Berwick, Maine."

In 1799 Captain Lord leaves Portsmouth for Demerara (now called Georgetown), a seacoast town of British Guiana, South America, with a cargo of lumber. His brother John, owner of the goods, writes him on February 5, "it is my wishes that you proceed from hence to Demerara & sell your Cargo for the most that it will fetch, presuming that at least you will gett thirty five Dollars for your Lumber altho I Expect the Markett is at least fifty or Sixty Dollars — & if you sell them, I wish If Coffee, Cotton & Sugar Can be obtained, that you will take that in return, and if that cannot be obtained to afford some Profit I shall then Recommend Bills if they are good but Rum must be low there to even make a saving — but if after you gett to Demerara you cannot find the Marketts so good as the above Calculation taking the whole of the Cargo in mind you will proceed then to such other port as you think will be for the Interest of the Voyage, you will break no Acts of Trade, that you may be under the care and Protection of divine Providence — is the sincere desire of your friend — & wishing you health and Prosperity."

An unusual item in the collection is a statement of a cargo shipped in 1800 to the Tobago Island of "105000 feet board & plank, Including 15 M Joints and 2 M feet boards for the Capt.



PORTRAIT OF DANIEL WALKER LORD NOW IN POSSESSION OF  
SOCIETY OF MAYFLOWER DESCENDANTS, BOSTON

*(Artist unknown)*

adventure" as well as red oak, "good Shingles," and scale fish valued at \$3166.30 in American dollars. The prevailing custom in this period was, of course, to reckon in terms of English pounds and shillings.

The second group of papers presented to Harvard University by Miss Lord is a part of the voluminous records of Daniel Walker Lord, son of Nathan Lord, who directly carried on the merchandising business in Kennebunkport from 1820 to the post-Civil War period. By 1830 the business had expanded considerably and had changed in character. The emphasis lay largely on the three-cornered trade with the West Indies and the western coast of Europe.

The most complete set of documents center around the *Brig Union* which made numerous trans-Atlantic "flights" until it sank off the coast of Cuba in 1831. The first voyage of the brig for which we have records was in 1824. Captain Oliver Smith arrived in Kingston, Jamaica, on November 9, 1824, and writes on November 18 to Daniel Lord, "There is no freight to be had at this place and I think I shall have to go for a load of wood." Then evidently with his own cargo in mind, "The last sale of W. T. lumber was a small cargo from Bath at 24\$. The next will probably be lower, seven vessels having arrived in the last 24 hours, from British America with Fish and lumber. P. pine lumber is worth 36\$, Southern R. O. staves by the cargo still at 40\$, cypress shingles 12\$ four at 7½\$. No colonial produce in the market."

By Christmas he has moved up to Carmen in the State of Campeche, Mexico, and has contracted for a cargo of logwood at "fifty two cents per quintal Spanish weight. With the export duty and port charges on the vessel, it will stand on about 14½\$ per ton English."

An account sheet for Joseph Osborn, Lord's agent in New York, indicates the division of the purchase among New England merchants. Samuel Hicks secured 100 tons of logwood at \$26; A. O. Brodie, 15 tons, \$27; S. N. Stilwell, 10 tons, \$27; George Bingley, 100 tons, \$26; G. G. & S. Howland, 8 tons, \$27; and Daniel Lord, 17 tons at \$26. Full confidence was placed in the captain who sailed for France with the cargo to dispose of it as profitably as possible for these merchants.

From Havre, Smith writes on May 3, 1825 (after commenting that he arrived on May 1 after a rough passage) that "the wood is not Sold, it is worth about forty dolls. per ton, clear of duty." A



few days later he states, "Since I wrote you I have agreed to land at Rochell with Brandy for N. York at eight dollars per ton of two hundred and forty galls. to be landed in fifteen days." He informs Lord that he has asked their French brokers to secure salt to the value of \$1000 but that since then he has decided he does not want it and unless they have actually purchased and insist upon his taking the salt, he will sail without it. All the logwood was sold except 24 tons which finally went at \$60 a ton. He comments, "Exchange on London 60 days, 24 francs 80 to 85 centimes per pound sterling."

The *Union* loaded with 56,615 gallons of brandy and "two tons of dry goods" left Rochelle for the United States — over a hundred years ago. It reached New York in 62 days and Captain Smith thinks that the greatest objection to the Brig's sailing to and from Europe is its slowness as "she ought to have made the last passage in thirty five days."

The *Union* made voyages regularly every year — carrying molasses to New York, cotton to Havre and Liverpool, boots and shoes to Mobile — until the catastrophic event on November 9, 1831, when the captain writes to Lord, "Unhappy to inform you I have lost the Brig *Union* on the fourth of this month between the Island of Cuba and Jamaica. She sank down under me." Although the crew threw the load of salt overboard, the leak increased and the captain says, "With tears I left her sinking, and the boat leaking almost as bade as the Brig, I heardly new wither to stop on board the Brig and dei, or go in to the Boats and dei" but "Providence smiled" for "after suffering hunger and heardships in the boats four nights and four days I have arrived here with all hands."

## American Investment Trusts

THE groundwork for a study of American investment trusts is contained in a mass of documents presented to the Business Historical Society by Edgar Higgins, investment trust consultant of New York City. Mr. Higgins has devoted years to collecting this material, part of which has been collated under his direction, and the remainder is now undergoing classification. It covers such diverse ranges as company reports, newspaper and magazine articles, advertisements and legal forms for the type of trust with practically unlimited managerial power to that which has a minimum.

The American trust, at first slow to get a start, has developed to enormous size and variability of types since 1924. Its present posi-

tion is somewhat analogous to the British trust as it existed in the 80's. The latter, after expanding rapidly over half a century, lost its highly speculative traits in the crash of the 90's, and gradually took on its present standardized form — conservative both in the selection of securities and the management of the company.

In the United States, legal and local differentiation as well as the desire for experimentation has created a diversity of investment trust which is now being tested by experience. This expensive technique, amply used in the British case, can be greatly facilitated by careful, scientific analyses of the facts already available. How unsettled ideas are now can be judged from the contradictory opinions of a purely factual question like the effects of the recent stock market crash on the investment trust.

## A Modern Encyclopedia

IN STRIKING contrast to Sam Johnson's erratic dictionary commented on in the last issue of the *Bulletin* is the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* whose second volume appeared during October (Macmillan). The book covers parts of the alphabet letters "A" and "B" — beginning with an article on *alliances* by Professor Sidney B. Fay of Harvard University and ending with *brigandage*, by Carleton Beals.

It would be superfluous to comment at length on the *Encyclopedia*. Edwin R. A. Seligman is editor-in-chief and Alvan Johnson its associate editor. The list of contributors to the volume, which includes such diverse personalities as Ernest Barker, Harry Elmer Barnes, Mary R. Beard, John R. Commons, Paul H. Douglas, Max Eastman, Lord Ernle, Charles Gide and Morris Ginsberg — to look only at the first pages — testifies to the high quality of the articles. Although many of the paragraphs are succinct biographies of important and secondary men in the social sciences, broad topics are not neglected and we find articles on arbitration, architecture, art, aviation, automobile industry, baby farming, and banks, as well as blasphemy and bolshevism.

Of particular moment to the Business Historical Society is the discussion of *archives* contributed by Hilary Jenkinson of the University of London, who speculates on their future. He says, "Unfortunately recognition of their value is undoubtedly tending to render modern archive makers self-conscious; the honest man is



influenced in his writing by the reflection that his office work may be the raw material of future historians, and the politician is tempted more than formerly to select, suppress, garble or appropriate. Every year produces examples of this tendency in volumes of memoirs over well-known names; and the quality of archives suffers. In addition to this and to the difficulty of maintaining standard in the materials employed there are the questions raised by the use of new forms of unwritten communication. It is possible that in the future written archives may dwindle to unimportance and some new form of record be demanded as a result of fresh inventions in telephony and television."

## Collected Business Records in Europe

EUROPEAN attempts to collect and preserve records of business history have been described in an article by Dr. Charles Schmidt, archivist of the National Archives of France. It was originally published in the May 15, 1926 issue of *La Revue de Paris*, and has now been translated into English.

Of predominant interest to the French is the connection between political events and economic history. Where did the fortune come from which Danton amassed so rapidly? How important was the fact that Talleyrand was a stockholder in the salt pits of Dieuze in bringing about the "convenient alterations" in the frontier line in 1814 and 1815? How great a rôle did the Zollverein play in the unification of Germany? It is only in the aged, yellowed documents themselves that one can secure data for an answer.

Again, to turn to a more recent historical event like the World War, the economic implications are still unknown. The facts await the fortuitous combination of documents and economic historian, but one can expect that such information would be fully as important in changing men's stereotypes as Professor Sidney B. Fay's careful study of the diplomatic documents in his *Origins of the World War*. It is significant that Professor Schmidt comments, "Judging by the secret papers which the German authorities forgot to take with them when they left Strasbourg, and which make it possible to reconstruct the scope of their economic-information service, one can see at a glance the controlling influence of the capitalists of the iron and steel industries on German General Headquarters." What was the situation in England, Russia, France,

Austria-Hungary, Italy — in neutral countries as well as in combatant?

Prior to 1914 a methodical effort was being made to collect business records in the highly industrialized area of Rhenish Westphalia. As early as 1900 the Düsseldorf Chamber of Commerce launched the notion of a *Wirtschaftsarchiv*. An economic library was begun in Cologne in 1906 supported by nineteen Chambers of Commerce in the Rhineland region and nine in Westphalia. Other German cities like Hamburg and Frankfurt soon followed and in 1913 a congress of economic archivists at Cologne was held. The necessity of preserving economic records for the nineteenth century was made manifest when Professor Gothein, famous for his works on the Rhine region, declared that the nineteenth century was less known than the sixteenth. The efforts of the little group were rewarded. The Navigation Company of the Rhine and the North Sea, the Schaffhausen Bank, which is one of the oldest banks of Cologne, the Stolberg mines and blast furnaces, and the railroad administrations of Cologne, Essen and Elberfeld sent material. The Stinnes family presented the old archives of Mathias Stinnes of Mülheim, the daughter of William Thomas Mulvany turned over the correspondence of her father, who had been interested in mining enterprises. Books have appeared — a history of Rhineland railroads, monographs on specific industries, a biography of William Mulvany disclosing the part played by Anglo-Belgian capital in the industrial development of the Rhineland.

Switzerland had established a library in 1910 in Basle. The former company of the Swiss Central Railroads has turned over its papers to the library; and private enterprises are acquiring the habit of entrusting to it their account books and copies of letters, making any necessary reservations as to their immediate use.

In the Netherlands the "Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief" has a rapidly growing membership, its own archives building, and since 1914 has published annual volumes of its *Economisch Historisch Jaarboek*. These volumes contain the results of special studies on the industrial development of Holland, together with full descriptions of the new material which has arrived since the previous issue.

Belgium started with an accidental find of several thousand business letters in the attics of the City Hall in Brussels — material narrowing the shadows of the economic development of Belgium

between 1650 and 1800. About twelve thousand letters were found of Francesco Gasparini, a Venetian residing in Brussels, who from 1692 to 1714 received from his Italian correspondents in the principal cities of Europe information for his banking enterprises, his trade in laces, grain, Italian wines, saffron, taffeta, skins, porcelains, etc., with all Europe.

France who for a long time had the best organized archives in Europe has let herself be outdistanced in the twentieth century. Documents abound for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but for the development of industry in the nineteenth century there is practically nothing. However, the movement to preserve its records has regained momentum in the last few years.

Throughout each country the tendency is towards a fuller recognition of the importance of manuscripts, a systematization of the technique of collection, and a coöperation of the agencies both within the country and with other countries.

## A Literary Peddler

(FROM THE MANUSCRIPT DEPARTMENT)

TWENTY small memorandum books, one kept in 1859, nine kept in the 60's, and ten kept in the 70's, contain the shrewd observations of a Yankee peddler on events which seemed important to him or merely interested him during his lifetime. On the flyleaf of the 1859 book appears the name of Morillo Noyes of Burlington, Vermont, and the notation "No. 9" on the book suggests that it was one of a series begun earlier. The books kept in the 60's are numbered, but he later abandoned the practice of numbering them, so that it only remains clear that the collection is fragmentary.

Morillo Noyes appears to have been an active citizen of Burlington, a strong Democrat in politics, and ready to engage in every kind of business enterprise by which he could make money. His main business appears to have been that of a Master Peddler, with headquarters at Burlington, where he kept warehouses to contain the merchandise which he sent out by his peddlers to exchange for commodities from the country communities.

The 1859 book shows that at the time he had twelve peddlers employed and was keeping eighteen horses for their wagons. The peddlers covered a large area of country in Vermont, New York, and Massachusetts, collecting wool, pelts, hides, horns, hair, old

metals, old rags, and what one speaks of generally as "junk," giving in trade for it tinware, sheetings and textiles, and such articles as a country store would carry. The cargoes acquired would be brought back and stored at Burlington, the rags going to the paper manufacturers in Massachusetts, the metal junk to wherever he found the best market in Boston or New York or elsewhere; the horns going to the glue manufacturers; the woolen articles to the shoddy mills. There are numerous items referring to hair of different grades, and one refers to hogs' hair. Just what use was made of the latter does not appear. He also did a large business in hides and pelts.

His trade in furs is found in the books, one of which describes his trip through Ontario to Montreal on a fur-buying expedition. The prices given for raw furs throughout the books are amazingly low in comparison with the present prices for furs.

It was a practice of Mr. Noyes to make frequent trips to Boston and New York, observing the state of the market for what he had to sell and making his purchases for his own trading. The books are filled with many notes in regard to the standing of persons and firms in the places he visited. Indeed, they show that he had a strong tendency to mind other people's business with as much interest as he showed towards his own. During the whole period his peddler activities expanded and the books show growth in the barter trade alone from around \$8,000 in one year to over \$12,000 at a later time.

He owned considerable real estate, including a residence in Burlington, the furniture for which he values at about \$3,000; the Noyes block in Burlington; and a number of lots of land in Burlington and vicinity. There is a suggestion that he was financially interested in the Winooski Cotton Mills and that he became a joint owner of the *Burlington Democrat* at the time of the Grant-Greeley election. He was so confident of the defeat of Grant that he gives a forecast of something like 260 votes for Greeley, as against 126 for Grant.

These memorandum books contain many notes as to prices of cotton, the current opinions in regard to its rise or fall and the prices of textiles depending on it, and the facts as they became established during the war. As has been suggested, there is no beginning and no real end to the series of memorandum books, but they give constant references to the state of the market in regard to the merchandise which Mr. Noyes dealt in, and also as to the

prices of necessary staples, like coal, lumber, cord wood and kerosene (which was coming into more general use in the 60's). Mixed with this useful information are facts, quotations and opinions on any subject which interested Mr. Noyes.

The chief impression that one gets from the memorandum books is of the personality of Mr. Noyes — a keen Vermont Yankee trader, ready to make a profit no matter how small, either from junk or a house lot, minding his own business with considerable energy, and yet with ample time to mind the business of those with whom he came in contact or who had attracted his attention. Such knowledge might be of great value to him in the numerous applications to him for loans. It appears in one of the books that the population of Burlington had doubled between 1860 and 1870 and the prosperity of Mr. Noyes seems to have gone along with that growth and with the extension of his unique business as Master Peddler.

## Proposed Legislation for the Fashions of the 50's

AMONG the heterogeneous mass of Baldwin engineering papers which have just arrived in Baker Library — and will be discussed in the next issue of the *Bulletin* — there is a copy of a Canadian bill which was introduced in 1859. It describes itself as "An Act for the Reform and Regulation of Female Apparel, and to amend and reform the Customs relating to Crinoline and other Artificial Superfluities and the Profusion thereof," with powers, fines, forfeitures and penalties to be exercised for enforcement.

The preamble explains that, "whereas evidence hath been produced, and it hath been shown, to the satisfaction of this Honorable House, that in the year of Grace one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine the Ladies of this Province have degenerated in their ideas of beauty and propriety; have deserted the wise and modest apparel of their ancestors, and adapted in lieu thereof the flowing and elaborate Skirts, supported and sustained in their amplitude by certain contrivances of Springs, Ladders, Hinges, &c., and a certain other Apparatus known by the name of Crinoline, and the gaudy and expensive Trimmings, Fashions and Appurtenances which evil and designing persons have introduced into this country from a neighboring Republic, whose people in the excess of their unbridled

sarcasm, have been in the habit of stigmatising Her Majesty's Loyal Subjects in this Province as 'Tarnal Britishers,' " some regulation of these abominable fashions is necessary for the "clearing of the Public Thoroughfares, for the protection of Her Majesty's Subjects in general, and for divers other cogent reasons quite unnecessary to mention."

Wherefore Her Majesty will order on the date of passage of the bill that no female shall "appear in any Publick Street, Way, Thoroughfare or Path, nor be or appear in any Church, Theatre, Doorway, Railroad, Private Carriage, Steamboat, Ballroom, or in any Private Apartments, dressed or enveloped in any artistically formed framework which shall be of the diameter of two yards or upwards, whether the same be fashioned out of Steel, Whalebone, Cord, Whickerwork, India-rubber, Gutta-percha, or any other material, and whether or not the same be screwed together or fitted with hinges or other apparatus to render the same collapsible or contractible."

These stringent measures even increase and the third article of the bill states that, "No female above the age of forty shall wear, deck, or bedizen herself in any Underskirt or Petticoat, the pattern of which shall be red and black striped, tub or barrel pattern, or any other pattern approaching to chess or draught-board pattern, or any other pattern or color which shall be likely to cause the taking fright of any horse, ox, or ass, or shall be calculated to cause the unnecessary barking of puppies, or draw forth the precocious remarks of any small boys or girls of the present generation who may espy the same, although the same remarks may be gratuitously delivered."

In the case of a married woman under fifty years of age, a pattern or piece of the material "shall be submitted to the husband for approval within two days after the same shall have been so obtained, and the husband shall signify his approval of such pattern by a certificate in writing."

It is ordered that any "Frames, Skeletons, Gratings, or Wickerwork, or other Machinery" still in good condition shall be used as "Fireguards, Door Mats, Bird Cages or Clothes' Bags . . . and the Petticoats or Underskirts may be devoted to Agricultural purposes by tearing the same into Ribbons for the scaring of Birds, or presented to the Royal Canadian Club for flags."

Similarly boots are taken into consideration with a full prohibition of "Black Boots with pink red or green binding" and those



which "for color or configuration, shall draw attention to the large size or expressively elegantly shaped foot of the wearer."

Bonnets receive a full paragraph and it is stipulated that none shall be "more than ten inches off the forehead or pinned on to the back hair, or the curtain of which shall sit or rest on the back of the neck, or shall be fastened on by steel springs or otherwise, so as to sit entirely behind the ears."

Article IX is the only affirmative statement in the bill and generously permits that "any female of common sense and discretion, properly accomplished, and of an average standard of beauty, may wear under certain restrictions (to be determined by herself) Hairy Dogskin Cloaks, Bearskin Mantles, or embroidered Petticoats (if the actual work of the wearer), or ugly Sunshades, Pinkstays, Colored Stockings, or Garters, or Gauntlet Gloves."

Whether the parliamentary discussions of 1859 were bitter with predictions of the inescapable consequences of such legislation is not known, but one suspects that Canada, having reason to fear an uprising among 50 per cent of its population, was loath to take such drastic measures even for the public welfare.

## Secretary's Column

### ACQUISITIONS

During the few weeks which have elapsed since the publication of the last *Bulletin*, the Society has received and gratefully acknowledges the following acquisitions:

From Price Waterhouse and Company, New York City.

Four cases of miscellaneous statistical data.

From Richard Peters, Jr., Philadelphia.

Papers of the Tecumseh Iron Company, including Sales Records of 1878 and Bills of Lading; also, Time Tables of the New York and New England Railroad, 1876, and of the East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia Railway System of 1890.

From Charles E. Rogerson, President, Boston Safe Deposit and Trust Co., Boston.

Trust agreement for construction of Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad, 1869.

Protest of Citizens' Association of Boston, 1898.

Reports of Franklin Savings Bank, Boston, 1912.

Reports relating to development of Hamilton Mfg. Co., Boston, 1884 and 1924.



- From Swiss Association for the Utilization of Hydraulic Power, Zürich.  
 Purposes of Association, 1926.  
 Guide to Swiss Hydraulic Developments, 1926.  
 Annual Report of Association, 1929.
- From an officer of the Society.  
*Rules and regulations to be observed by the Society at Annan Called the Trades Society as approved of, and confirmed by, the Quarter Sessions, 1801.*  
 Also Periodicals, continuations and other current material.
- From Mr. and Mrs. William C. Lane, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Nine account books of Jacob Peabody, Auctioneer of Salem, Mass., 1804-1823.
- From William Butler, Newton, Mass.  
 Maxon, Joseph, *Mechanick Exercises, or the Doctrine of Handywork as applied to Smithing, Joinery, Carpentry, Turning, Bricklayery*, 1703.  
 Petty, Sir William, *Essays in Political Arithmetick*, 1755.  
 Pain, William, *Practical House Carpenter*, containing designs and prices established in the Town of Boston for specific items of construction, 1796.  
 Earl of Lauderdale, *Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Public Wealth*, 1804.  
 Lowe, Joseph, *Present State of England in regard to Agriculture, Trade and Finance*, 1824.
- From David Oakes, President, Thomas Oakes and Company, Bloomfield, N. J.  
*The Turn of the Century*, a corporate history, 1830-1930.
- From J. M. Davis, President, Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, New York.  
 An account of the tunnel entrance to Jersey City contained in the *Scientific American* of May 26, 1877.
- From Office Fédéral de L'Industrie, des Arts et Métiers et du Travail, Berne, Switzerland.  
 Complete publication of *La Suisse Economique et Sociale*, 1926-1930, inclusive.
- From Charles P. Curtis, Jr., Boston.  
 Stockholders' Ledger of Cabarrus G. M. Co., 1832-1834.

#### MEMBERSHIP

The following names have been enrolled as Affiliated Members of the Society:

- Lieut. Col. Eben Putnam, Massachusetts Historian of the World War, Wellesley Farms, Mass.  
 Newark Public Library, Business Branch, Newark, N. J.

